

F B I

Date: JAN. 12, 1962

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33740)

CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP  
IS - C  
(OO:NY)

EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH THE HANDLING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THIS INFORMATION WAS CONFIDENTIALLY RECEIVED AND BECAUSE BY ITS VERY NATURE IT TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT UNLESS IT IS CORROBORATED THROUGH ANOTHER SOURCE, THAT IT NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU AT THIS TIME.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies of an informant's statement dated January 11, 1962, containing information orally furnished on January 11, 1962, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information was reduced to writing on January 11, 1962, and the original report is maintained in CGfile A)134-46-7208.

In view of the fact that GUS HALL, in outlining the membership figures noted herein, listed only the "South Region", no effort has been made to disseminate copies of this informant's statement to the numerous offices which could conceivably be encompassed by this description as it was felt this information would have no significant value to them.

GALE

RWH:MDW  
(see page ii for copies)

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____	FILED _____
JAN 11 1962	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*J.V. Waters*  
100-80638-1913

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

CG 100-33740

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    (1-100-           (CP, Indiana District - Organization)  
1-Los Angeles (RM)  
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④ 1-New York (RM)  
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    (1-100-80638      (CP, USA - Membership)  
    (1-100-80641      (CP, USA - Organization)  
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(see page iii for additional copies)

CG 100-33740

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6-Chicago  
    (1-A)134-46-7208)  
    (1-100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)  
    (1- 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)  
    (1-100-18953 (CP, Illinois District - Organization)  
    (1-100-18952 (CP, Illinois District - Membership)

*and* RWH:MDW  
(36)

January 11, 1962

Gus Hall, on January 10, 1962, met secretly and privately in Chicago, Illinois, with Claude Lightfoot, Carl Winter, and Morris Childs. During the discussion occurring at this meeting, Hall reported on the current membership figures for the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA).

According to Hall, these current membership figures had been arrived at on the basis of the total twelve months' dues payments received by the Party during the calendar year 1961 and then divided by twelve to establish the average paid-up membership in the various districts of the CP, USA.

There is set forth below, as outlined by Hall, the total dues payments by the various CP districts during the year 1961 and the membership of that district based on a monthly paid-up dues average:

District	Total 1961 Dues Payments	1961 Average Monthly Paid-Up Membership
Ohio	900	74
Michigan	767	63.5
Illinois	2,295	192
Wisconsin	394	32
Minnesota	900	75
St. Louis, including Okla.	102	9
South Region	67	6
Indiana	0	0
New York	15,000	1,221
New Jersey	755	63
Philadelphia	333	28
Pittsburgh	88	7.75
New England	700	58
Oregon	288	24
Washington	500	42
Montana	36	3
Southern Calif.	4,375	364
Northern Calif.	1,108	92
Maryland	(no figures)	
Total	28,608	2,354.25

When the figures in relation to Philadelphia were mentioned by Hall, the participating group expressed great shock at the diminished membership because always in the past Philadelphia had been recognized for its importance and size of Party district.

In connection with the Pittsburgh figures recited by Hall, the group was pleasantly surprised since in 1960 there had been no record of dues payments from that district.

In regard to Indiana reporting no dues payments or membership, Hall was very disturbed and it had been his intention, had a meeting materialized for January 11, 1962, to have discussed this matter with Manny Blum in order to ascertain the reasons therefor.

Date 1-10-62

TO SAC:

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- Albany
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- Anchorage
- Atlanta
- Baltimore
- Birmingham
- Boston
- Buffalo
- Butte
- Charlotte
- Chicago
- Cincinnati
- Cleveland
- Dallas
- Denver
- Detroit
- El Paso

- Honolulu
- Houston
- Indianapolis
- Jacksonville
- Kansas City
- Knoxville
- Las Vegas
- Little Rock
- Los Angeles
- Louisville
- Memphis
- Miami
- Milwaukee
- Minneapolis
- Mobile
- Newark
- New Haven

- New Orleans
- New York City
- Norfolk
- Oklahoma City
- Omaha
- Philadelphia
- Phoenix
- Pittsburgh
- Portland
- Richmond
- St. Louis
- Salt Lake City
- San Antonio
- San Diego
- San Francisco
- San Juan

- Savannah
- Seattle
- Springfield
- Tampa
- Washington Field
- Quantico

TO LEGAT:

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- Ottawa
- Paris
- Rome
- Rio de Janeiro
- Tokyo

RE: **COMMUNIST PARTY, USA**  
**MEMBERSHIP**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

*[Handwritten signature]*

- SAC
- ASAC 1
- ASAC 2
- ASAC 3
- ASAC 4
- SEC 11
- SEC 12
- SEC 13
- SEC 14
- SEC 31

For information       For appropriate action       Surep, by \_\_\_\_\_

The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report,  conceal all sources,  paraphrase contents.

Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA \_\_\_\_\_ dated \_\_\_\_\_.

REMARKS:

*100-80638-1914*

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_  
INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
FILED \_\_\_\_\_

*J. Water*

*[Handwritten initials]*

*415*

1 Enclosure(s)  
Bufile **100-3-68**  
Urfile

**ESTIMATED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP  
AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1961**

The following figures are set out according to states and territory, field divisions and Communist Party districts:

**MEMBERSHIP IN STATES AND TERRITORIES**

Alabama	5	Maine	3	Pennsylvania	154
Alaska	0	Maryland	39	Rhode Island	9
Arizona	20	Massachusetts	92	S. Carolina	0
Arkansas	0	Michigan	203	S. Dakota	24
California	984	Minnesota	186	Tennessee	0
Colorado	2	Mississippi	0	Texas	31
Connecticut	23	Missouri	47	Utah	15
Delaware	3	Montana	19	Vermont	2
District of Columbia	7	Nebraska	5	Virginia	3
Florida	32	Nevada	0	Washington	228
Georgia	3	New Hampshire	2	W. Virginia	9
Hawaii	2	New Jersey	150	Wisconsin	118
Idaho	5	New Mexico	5	Wyoming	0
Illinois	442	New York	1,975		
Indiana	34	N. Carolina	4	<b>Total</b>	<b>5,173</b>
Iowa	3	N. Dakota	19		
Illinois	3	Ohio	162	<b>TERRITORY</b>	
Illinois	7	Oklahoma	11	Puerto Rico	13
Kentucky	0	Oregon	41		
Louisiana	10				

**MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS**

Albany	14	Houston	3	Oklahoma City	11
Albuquerque	5	Indianapolis	54	Omaha	3
Anchorage	0	Jacksonville	6	Philadelphia	129
Atlanta	2	Kansas City	10	Phoenix	20
Baltimore	42	Knoxville	0	Pittsburgh	34
Birmingham	2	Las Vegas	0	Portland	43
Boston	106	Little Rock	0	Richmond	7
Buffalo	41	Los Angeles	640	St. Louis	44
Butte	24	Louisville	0	Salt Lake City	18
Charlotte	4	Memphis	0	San Antonio	7
Chicago	440	Miami	17	San Diego	39
Cincinnati	16	Milwaukee	115	San Francisco	206
Cleveland	146	Minneapolis	229	Savannah	1
Dallas	16	Mobile	3	Seattle	238
Denver	2	Newark	150	Springfield	2
Detroit	203	New Haven	33	Tampa	10
El Paso	5	New Orleans	10	Washington Field	7
Honolulu	2	New York	1,922		
		Norfolk	1	<b>Total</b>	<b>5,173</b>

<b>DISTRICTS</b>	<b>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</b>	<b>STATES INCLUDED IN DISTRICTS</b>	<b>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</b>
Connecticut District	23	Connecticut	23
Eastern Pennsylvania & Delaware District	121	Pennsylvania (Eastern) Delaware	120 1
Illinois District	442	Illinois (Excluding East St. Louis area) Iowa (Des Moines & Davenport only)	442 0
Indiana District	54	Indiana	54
Maryland-D.C. District	46	Maryland District of Columbia	29 17
Michigan District	203	Michigan	203
Minnesota-Dakota District	229	Minnesota North Dakota South Dakota	126 19 84
Missouri District	50	Missouri Kansas (Kansas City only) Illinois (East St. Louis only)	47 3 0
Montana District	19	Montana	19
New England District	168	Vermont Maine New Hampshire Massachusetts Rhode Island	2 3 1 92 9
New Jersey District	150	New Jersey	150
New York District	1,975	New York	1,975
Northern California District	317	California (north of Kern & Santa Barbara Counties)	317
Northeast District	233	Washington Idaho Alaska	233 1 0
Ohio District	164	Ohio West Virginia (Fayetteville Section)	163 1



**DISTRICTS (Continued)**

<b>Oklahoma-Arkansas District</b>	<b>11</b>	Oklahoma Arkansas	<b>11</b> <b>0</b>
<b>Oregon District</b>	<b>43</b>	Oregon	<b>43</b>
<b>Southern California District</b>	<b>667</b>	California (Exclusive of counties north of Santa Barbara and Kern Counties)	<b>667</b>
<b>Southern Region</b>	<b>89</b>	Alabama Florida Georgia Louisiana Mississippi North Carolina South Carolina Tennessee Texas (Exclusive of the 17 western counties) Virginia	<b>5</b> <b>23</b> <b>3</b> <b>18</b> <b>0</b> <b>4</b> <b>0</b> <b>0</b> <b>26</b> <b>8</b>
<b>Western Pennsylvania District</b>	<b>25</b>	Pennsylvania (Western)	<b>25</b>
<b>Wisconsin District</b>	<b>115</b>	Wisconsin	<b>115</b>
<b>STATES WITHOUT FORMAL CE ORGANIZATION</b>	<b>68</b>	Arizona Colorado Hawaii Iowa Kansas Kentucky Nebraska Tennessee New Mexico Texas (17 western counties) West Virginia (exclusive of the four panhandle counties) Wyoming Utah	<b>20</b> <b>2</b> <b>2</b> <b>3</b> <b>4</b> <b>0</b> <b>5</b> <b>0</b> <b>0</b> <b>5</b> <b>7</b> <b>0</b> <b>15</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,273</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>5,273</b>
<b>TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS</b>	<b>13</b>	Puerto Rico	<b>13</b>

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION

	3-31-61	6-30-61	9-30-61	12-31-61
Albany	15	15	14	14
Albuquerque	6	5	5	5
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Atlanta	5	2	2	7
Baltimore	41	41	41	42
Birmingham	2	2	2	2
Boston	109	111	110	106
Buffalo	69	72	70	41
Butte	36	36	35	24
Charlotte	2	1	4	4
Chicago	433	440	439	440
Cincinnati	19	18	18	16
Cleveland	146	146	146	146
Dallas	18	18	18	16
Denver	2	1	1	2
Detroit	203	203	203	203
El Paso	5	5	5	5
Honolulu	2	2	2	2
Houston	4	4	4	3
Indianapolis	65	66	66	54
Jacksonville	6	6	6	6
Kansas City	9	10	10	10
Knoxville	0	0	0	0
Las Vegas	0	0	0	0
Little Rock	0	0	0	0
Los Angeles	632	625	640	640
Louisville	0	0	0	0
Memphis	0	0	0	0
Miami	22	20	20	17
Milwaukee	121	120	116	113
Minneapolis	226	225	227	229
Mobile	3	3	3	2
Newark	155	155	155	150
New Haven	32	32	33	32
New Orleans	11	11	11	10
New York	1,921	1,921	1,924	1,922
Norfolk	2	1	2	1
Oklahoma City	12	12	12	11
Omaha	9	9	8	8
Philadelphia	137	135	133	129
Phoenix	21	20	20	20
Pittsburgh	34	32	33	34
Portland	43	43	42	43
Richmond	7	7	7	7
St. Louis	44	46	44	44
Salt Lake City	16	15	16	15
San Antonio	6	8	8	7

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMORANDUM FIGURES IN FILE CIVIL 100

	3-31-61	6-30-61	9-30-61	12-31-61
San Diego	39	37	39	39
San Francisco	322	367	310	305
Savannah	1	1	1	1
Seattle	233	235	233	224
Springfield	3	3	2	2
Tampa	10	10	10	10
Washington Field	3	2	2	2
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>5,264</b>	<b>5,262</b>	<b>5,260</b>	<b>5,173</b>
San Juan	13	13	13	13

F B I

Date: JAN 16 1962

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
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Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
 (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33740)

CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP  
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ReCGairtel dated January 12, 1962, to Director with copies to all offices receiving instant communication.

EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH THE HANDLING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THIS INFORMATION WAS CONFIDENTIALLY RECEIVED AND BECAUSE BY ITS VERY NATURE IT TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT UNLESS IT IS CORROBORATED THROUGH ANOTHER SOURCE, THAT IT NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU AT THIS TIME.

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RWH:MDW  
 (See page ii for copies)

GALE

100-80638-1915

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FBI - NEW YORK	
Waters	

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
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CG 100-33740

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3-Indianapolis (RM)  
    (1-100-9529        (EMANUEL BLUM)  
    (1-100-3474 V     (CP, Indiana District - Membership)  
    (1-100-           (CP, Indiana District - Organization)  
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1-Newark (RM)  
    (1-100-           (CP, New Jersey District - Membership)  
⑤-New York (RM)  
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    (1-100-84994      (GUS HALL)  
    (1-100-80638      (CP, USA - Membership)  
    (1-100-80641      (CP, USA - Organization)  
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(see page iii for additional copies)

CG 100-33740

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3-Chicago  
(1-A) 134-46-7216)  
(1-100-18952 (CP, Illinois District - Membership)

RWH:MDW  
(35)

January 15, 1962

On January 13, 1962, GUS HALL, while referring to the membership figures of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), which he had discussed previously on January 10, 1962, and which had been based on the average monthly paid up dues, stated as follows:

While the average paid up monthly membership figures which he had previously provided were current and accurate based on the final 1961 figures available at the time of his departure from New York City on January 8, 1962, it was anticipated there would be some upward revision on this final total. This revision would result from the possible receipt of additional late 1961 dues payments from the districts which had not been received by the time he left New York City. At the most, such additional late dues payments would not raise the final total of average monthly paid up members of 2,354.25 by more than 10% to 15%.

Among those districts where there might be such an upward revision, HALL mentioned the Eastern Pennsylvania District and stated that in fact PHIL BART was making a trip to that area on January 13-14, 1962, to look into the matter of membership and other Party business.

FD-36 (Rev. 12/13/56)

F B I

DATE: 1/16/62

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_ AIR MAIL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

-----  
TO : DIRECTOR (100-3-68)  
FROM : SAC, BUTTE (100-721C) (RUC)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP  
IS - C  
OO: New York

Re Chicago airtel to Bureau, 1/12/62.

Reairtel sets out the following figures for the Montana CP District:

Total of 1961 Dues Payments	36
1961 Average Monthly Paid-Up Membership	3

In evaluating the information in reairtel, the following may be of some assistance to the Bureau and receiving Offices:

[redacted] have advised that per capita dues is submitted quarterly by the Montana District to the CP National Office.

b7D

In 4/61, 36 dues payments by 12 members were submitted for the first quarter of 1961.

TEZ/ar  
(See Page 1a for copies)  
(29)

100-80638-1916

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 15 62	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. Waters  
4/15

✓



BT #100-721C

- 3 - Bureau (Reg.)
- 1 - Albany (Reg.)
  - (100- CP, New York State - Membership)
- 1 - Baltimore (Reg.)
  - (100- CP, Maryland District - Membership)
- 1 - Boston (Reg.)
  - (100- CP, New England District - Membership)
- 1 - Buffalo (Reg.)
  - (100- CP, New York State - Membership)
- 2 - Chicago (Reg.)
  - (100-13953 - CP, Illinois District - Organization)
  - (100-13952 - CP, Illinois District - Membership)
- 1 - Cleveland (Reg.)
  - (100- - CP, Ohio District - Membership)
- 1 - Cincinnati (Reg.)
  - (100- CP, Ohio District - Membership)
- 1 - Detroit (Reg.)
  - (100- CP, Michigan District - Membership)
- 2 - Indianapolis (Reg.)
  - (100-3474-V - CP, Indiana District - Membership)
  - (100- - CP, Indiana District - Organization)
- 1 - Los Angeles (Reg.)
  - (100- CP, Southern California District - Membership)
- 1 - Milwaukee (Reg.)
  - (100- CP, Wisconsin District - Membership)
- 1 - Minneapolis (Reg.)
  - (100- CP, Minnesota-Dakotas District - Membership)
- 1 - Newark (Reg.)
  - (100- CP, New Jersey District - Membership)
- ③ - New York (Reg.)
  - (100-30638 - CP, USA - Membership)
  - (100-30641 - CP, USA - Organization)
  - (100- - CP, New York State - Membership)
- 1 - Oklahoma City (Reg.)
  - (100- CP, Oklahoma District - Membership)

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(See Page 1b for additional copies)

BT #100-721C

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(100-32203 - CP, Eastern Pennsylvania and  
Delaware District - Membership)
- 1 - Pittsburgh (Reg.)  
(100-3664 - CP, Western Pennsylvania - Membership)
- 1 - Portland (Reg.)  
(100- CP, Oregon District - Membership)
- 1 - San Francisco (Reg.)  
(100-26239 - CP, Northern California District -  
Membership)
- 1 - St. Louis (Reg.)  
(100- CP, Missouri District - Membership)
- 1 - Seattle (Reg.)  
(100- CP, Washington District - Membership)
- 3 - Butte



b7D

BT #100-721C

In 7/61, 36 dues payments by 12 members were submitted for the second quarter of 1961.

In 10/61, 30 dues payments by 10 members were submitted for the third quarter of 1961.

Dues for the fourth quarter of 1961 are to be submitted during 1/62.

F B I

Date: JAN 16 1962

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
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Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C  
(OO:NY)

EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH THE HANDLING OF INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THIS INFORMATION WAS CONFIDENTIALLY RECEIVED AND BECAUSE BY ITS VERY NATURE IT TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT UNLESS IT IS CORROBORATED THROUGH ANOTHER SOURCE, THAT IT NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU AT THIS TIME.

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b6  
b7C

4-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)  
(1-100-174219 - (EMANUEL BLUM)

RWH:MDW  
(see page ii for additional copies)

100-80638-1917  
SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_ INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_ FILED \_\_\_\_\_  
JAN 18 1962  
FBI - NEW YORK  
[Handwritten signatures and initials]

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

CG 100-33741

Copies: (Con't.)

6-Indianapolis (RM)

(1-100-  
(1-100-9529 (EMANUEL BLUM)  
(1-100- (CP, Indiana District - Funds)  
(1-100-3474 V (CP, Indiana District - Membership)  
(1-100-11093 (CP, Indiana District - Organization)  
(1-100-8745 (CP, Indiana District - Strategy in Industry)

5-New York (RM)

(1-100-84994 (GUS HALL)  
(1-100-80638 (CP, USA - Membership)  
(1-100-80641 (CP, USA - Organization)  
(1-100-81675 (CP, USA - Pamphlets & Publications)  
(1-100-89590 (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)

b6  
b7c

1-San Francisco (RM)

(1-100- (GUS HALL)

11-Chicago

(1-A)134-46-7212)  
(1-100-24729 (EMANUEL BLUM)  
(1-100-26652  
(1-100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)  
(1-100-17517 (GUS HALL)  
(1- 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)  
(1-100-18952 (CP, Illinois District - Membership)  
(1-100-18953 (CP, Illinois District - Organization)  
(1-100-19431 (CP, Illinois District - Strategy in Industry)  
(1-100-22014 (Hansborough Section, CP of Illinois)

*Print*  
RWH:MDW  
(27)

January 15, 1962

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As a result of arrangements previously made by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT with MANNY BLUM, these individuals met privately and secretly with GUS HALL and MORRIS CHILDS in Chicago, Illinois, on January 15, 1962. This meeting, which had been originally requested by HALL, had been arranged in order that HALL might have an opportunity to solicit from BLUM the reasons for his failure to carry out any organizational activities as State Chairman, Communist Party (CP) of Indiana, during the past period of six to eight months.

When questioned on this matter by HALL, BLUM explained that [redacted] had now left him; that for the past year she has had mental problems accompanied by hallucinations and even apparitions of her youth. She has now left him and living with the president of the shop local in the plant where she had been employed. The man she is living with has three children and has not divorced his wife. Because of these marital problems, BLUM has been engaged continuously in an effort to make a living for himself and his son who has remained with him and sides with him in this difficulty. According to BLUM, [redacted] has already stopped receiving "The Worker" and he is now of the opinion she will leave the Party very soon.

BLUM emphasized that these marital problems involving him and his wife had been the total cause for his failure to carry out any of his organizational responsibilities in Indiana. He then directly placed the question to HALL and LIGHTFOOT as to whether they understood and appreciated this fact. Both agreed that they did.

There then followed a discussion regarding the state organization of the CP of Indiana. As a result of this discussion, it was agreed by all participants that the now existing state-wide Party organization of the CP of Indiana will be abolished and BLUM will no longer be considered responsible for organizational activities there. The currently existing South Bend Party group will be given an autonomous status, with organizational responsibility for this group being at least temporarily placed in the hands of [redacted]. If this materializes, a representative of the CP of Illinois will maintain contact with [redacted] and from time to time [redacted] will be called in to attend meetings of the CP of Illinois.

The present CP of Indiana members employed in steel in the Gary, Indiana, vicinity and organized into steel clubs in that locality will be merged into the Steel Section of the CP of Illinois. BLUM will be given the organizational responsibility for these Party steel workers in Gary. In regard to the remaining membership of the Party throughout Indiana, BLUM described these individuals as extremely scattered and elderly. The decision was made that there would be no attempt to organize these people on any local level. Occasionally, however, perhaps up to several times a year, someone from the CP of Illinois will attempt to meet individually with such Party members.

As a result of the decision to abolish the Indiana Party organization, it was decided that BLUM will be taken on as a member of the State Board of the CP of Illinois in order that he might attend such meetings and give guidance in connection with his organizational responsibility relating to the steel workers of Gary.

As to BLUM's immediate Party task under this new situation, HALL has instructed him to do some research on material relating to steel. This information is to be gathered as soon as possible so that it might be forwarded to HALL at San Francisco, the first stop on his West Coast tour which is scheduled to commence on January 16, 1962. HALL will then use this material in connection with a pamphlet he is presently engaged in writing on the steel question.

When the meeting concluded, BLUM turned over \$50 which he had reportedly secured from the CP members in Indiana which was to be a contribution to the National Office in connection with the current fund drive. This money was given to CHILDS for the purpose of transmittal to the National Office.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York  
January 26, 1962

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Bureau 100-372598

Re: Communist Party, United States  
of America vs. United States  
Government  
Internal Security - C  
Internal Security Act, 1950

On January 24, 1962, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information:

On January 19, 1962, Phil Bart, Organizational Secretary of Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), while at CPUSA Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, had in his possession a chart reflecting dues payments of the CPUSA by district. According to the source, this chart in part listed dues payments reflecting the membership of certain CP districts as follows:

New York	-	1100 members
Southern California	-	360 members
Northern California	-	90 members
Illinois District	-	200 members
New Jersey District	-	62 members

Bart also had a chart by CP district reflecting number of copies of Premier Khrushchev's two reports on the Twenty Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). This chart showed that purchases of these reports totalled 1100 copies nationally. Bart expressed concern for the failure of the CP districts to fully distribute and utilize these two reports. He pointed out that the two Khrushchev reports and other material on the Twenty Second Congress of the CPSU obtained from the Soviet Union would cost the purchaser

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 1 1962	
FBI - NEW YORK	

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-80638-1918



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party, United States  
of America vs. United States  
Government  
Internal Security - C  
Internal Security Act, 1950

over \$1.00. He said that Crosscurrents Press Incorporated, New York City, has published in two paper-back volumes all the Twenty Second Congress literature except the CPSU "Party program". These volumes, according to Bart, can be purchased at \$.10 a copy. He said that the CP leadership wants to make a great effort to have these two volumes distributed to as many CP members as possible.

Bart added that CP leadership also wants to "push" the distribution of a book "The Case of General Heusinger" published by Translation World Press, 22 West Madison Street, Chicago 2, Illinois. This he said normally sells for a \$1.25 a copy but that the CP can obtain it for \$.60.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 1/26/62

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-372598)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-102320)

SUBJECT: CPUSA vs. US Government  
IS-C  
ISA, 1950

Attached hereto are 6 copies of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination containing information furnished by [redacted] to SA JOHN A. HAAG, NYO, and SA RUSSELL H. HORNER, Newark Office, on 1/24/62. This information was obtained by the informant at CPUSA Headquarters, NYC, on 1/19/62.

This memorandum is being classified "~~Confidential~~" because it contains information which could reveal the identity of the source who is of continuing value and this in turn would have a detrimental effect upon the national defense interests of the US Government.

b7D

- 4 - Bureau (100-372598)(Encls. 6)(RM)  
(1 - 100-63)(CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP)
- 2 - Chicago (100- ) (CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP)(Encls. 2)(RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (TRANSLATION WORLD PRESS)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100- ) (CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP)(Encl. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Newark (100- ) (CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP)(Encl. 1)(RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (100- ) (CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP)(Encl. 1)(RM)
- [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-80638 (CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP)(415)
- 1 - NY 100-99878 (CROSSCURRENTS PRESS)(41)
- 1 - NY 100-81675) (CPUSA-PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)(415)
- 1 - NY 100-102320 (415)

JAH:rvs  
(16)

*100-80638-1919*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 26 1962	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*JAH*

*J. Waters*

*[Signature]*

SAC, BALTIMORE [redacted]

1/19/62

SA ROBERT C. NORTON

INFORMATION FURNISHED BY SI

The documentation for this information is as follows:

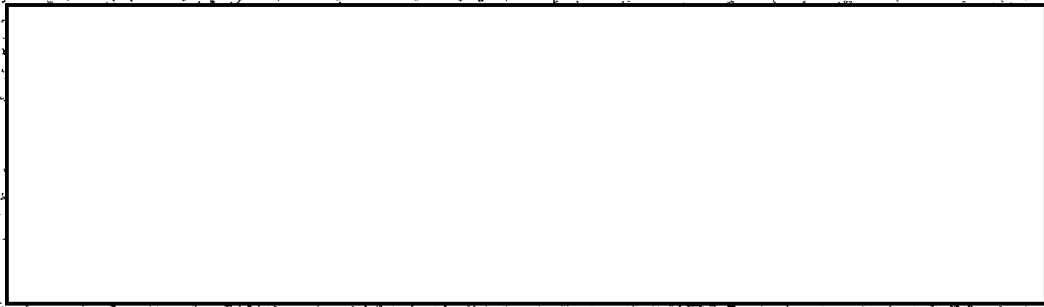
<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity And/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Furn.</u>	<u>Agent</u>	<u>Location</u>
[redacted]	12/21 C.P. meeting	1/4	SA ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED.

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b7D

The Text of the informant's statement is as follows:

"Baltimore, Maryland  
"Dec. 24, 1961



"MEYERS stated that he, MEYERS, preferred to meet with the club even though [redacted] was absent. MEYERS also stated that he was still confident that no MC CARRAN

cc's:

(2) - New York (Membership) (CPUSA VS SACB)

1 - Baltimore [redacted]

100-1076 (GEORGE MEYERS)

100-12175 [redacted]

100-1515 [redacted]

RCN:meh

(9)

100-12464 (ORGANIZATION)

100-12170 (MEMBERSHIP)

100-22456 (CP USA VS SACB)

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b7C

4/15

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 8 1962	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Maters  
100-3258-1920

[REDACTED]

b7D

"arrests were forthcoming in this area. MEYERS told [REDACTED] that he was proud of the fact that out of ten thousand C.P. members in the United States not one had registered under the MC CARRAN Act. [REDACTED] left at about 8:10 PM."

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This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-4931)

FROM : SA JOSEPH V. WATERS

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
IS-C

DATE: 2/27/62

Report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS dated 1/19/62, at NY, reflects activity of the CPUSA, for the quarterly period 10/1/61 to 12/31/61. Details of such activity may be found in this report under the following:

Organization  
Funds  
Factionalism

1-NY (100-80641) (CPUSA - ORGANIZATION) (415)  
1-NY (100-80638) (CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP) (415)  
1-NY (100-74560) (CPUSA - FUNDS) (415)  
1-NY (100-81338) (CPUSA - SECURITY MEASURES) (415)  
1-NY (100-96985) (CPUSA - UNDERGROUND OPERATIONS) (415)  
1-NY (100-87211) (CPUSA - FACTIONALISM) (415)  
1-NY (100-86624) (CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)  
1-NY (100-88123) (CPUSA - UNITED NATIONS) (415)  
1-NY (100-87212) (CPUSA - COLONIAL MATTERS) (415)  
1-NY (100-79717) (CPUSA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (415)  
1-NY (100-80636) (CPUSA - LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES) (415)  
1-NY (100-89691) (CPUSA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES) (415)  
1-NY (100-80640) (CPUSA - NEGRO QUESTION) (415)  
1-NY (100-80644) (CPUSA - YOUTH MATTERS) (415)  
1-NY (100-80643) (CPUSA - WOMEN MATTERS) (415)  
1-NY (100-80634) (CPUSA - FARMERS MATTERS) (415)  
1-NY (100-88297) (CPUSA - CULTURAL ACTIVITIES) (415)  
1-NY (100-79498) (CPUSA - VETERANS MATTERS) (415)  
1-NY (100-54651) (CPUSA - NATIONAL GROUPS) (415)  
1-NY (100-80864) (CPUSA - RELIGION) (415)  
1-NY (100-81675) (CPUSA - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS) (415)  
1-NY (100-80633) (CPUSA - EDUCATION) (415)  
1-NY (100-133902) (CPUSA - ATTEMPTS OF CP TO INFILTRATE MASS ORGANIZATIONS) (415)  
1-NY (100-140277) ( CP INTEREST IN PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE) (413)  
1-NY (100-145839) (PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF PARTY LEADERS) (415)  
1-NY (100-4931) (415)

JVW:jad/rmv  
(26)

*PK JK*

*100-80638-1921*

Searched....	Indexed....
Serialized....	Filed....
Feb. 27, 1962	
FBI - New York	
<i>Waters</i>	
415	

NY 100-4931

International Relations  
Political Activities  
Negro Question  
Youth Matters  
Farmers Matters  
National Groups  
Religion  
Pamphlets and Publications  
CP Interest in Puerto Rican Independence  
Public Appearances of Party Leaders

No information suitable for inclusion in this report was developed during the period 10/1/61 to 12/31/61, concerning the following activities of the CP, USA:

Membership  
Security Measures  
Underground operations  
United Nations

Colonial Matters  
Legislative Activities  
Domestic Administration Issues  
Women Matters

Cultural Activities  
Veterans Matters  
Education  
Attempts of CP to Infiltrate Mass Organizations.

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-84935)  
 FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-31822)  
 SUBJECT: COMINFIL RAILROAD INDUSTRY  
 IS - C

DATE: 3/12/62

Date received <b>1/12/62</b>	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] who has furnished <b>reliable info in the past</b>	Received by SA [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person     by telephone     by mail     orally     recording device     written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:-

Date \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dictated \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_  
 Transcribed \_\_\_\_\_  
 Authenticated by Informant \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Report

**1/12/62**

Date(s) of activity

**1/11/62**

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Brief description of activity or material

**Meeting of NYCP Railroad Club**

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks:

- 25 - New York (RM)
- 1 - 100-93296 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-109560 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-123494 [redacted]
- 1 - 158-36 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-111165 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-104040 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-82905 (WILBUR BROMS)
- 1 - 100-83193 [redacted]
- 1 - 158-37 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)
- 1 - 100-118174 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS)
- 1 - 100-48663 (IRVING POTASH)
- 1 - 100- ("Progressive Labor")
- 1 - 97-169 ("The Worker")
- 1 - 100-140536 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-128821 (CP, NYD, FACTIONALISM)
- 1 - 100-87211 (CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)
- 1 - 100-128817 (CP, NYD, MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - 100-80638 (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - 100-128809 (CP, NYD, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- 1 - 100-89590 (CP, USA, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- 1 - 100-128813 (CP, NYD, PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)
- 1 - 100-132491 (CP, NYD, RAILROAD REGION)

- 2 - Buffalo (100- ) (RM)
  - 1 - 100-10454 [redacted]
  - 3 - Newark
  - 1 - 100-35539 [redacted]
- OAC:emg  
(30)

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100-80638-1922

Block Stamp

SEARCHED .....	INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED .....	FILED .....
MAR 13 1962	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]*

NK 100-31822

January 12, 1962

There was a meeting of the New York COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) Railroad Club at [redacted] City on the evening of January 11, 1962. The following members of the Railroad Club were present:



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[redacted] opened the meeting by announcing that there would be one point of discussion: namely, the recent expulsion from the CP of [redacted] and a third person. [redacted] advised that the third person was WILBUR BROMS.

Each person at the meeting had a chance to express himself, and the meeting was largely a cross discussion of those present. [redacted] pointed out that none of those expelled from the CP had been officially notified by the CP National Office, but BILL SCOTT said he had been in touch that day with LOU WEINSTOCK of the CP National Office, and WEINSTOCK had told [redacted] and BROMS were expelled by the Executive Board of the New York CP State Committee, and [redacted] were expelled too.

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The discussions brought out that BEN DAVIS, LOU WEINSTOCK, and IRVING POTASH of the CP National Office formed an investigating committee to question those expelled. [redacted] said that those expelled had decided to submit to questioning only as a group and not individually or they would not cooperate. Apparently, [redacted] went before the investigating committee once by himself and a second time with [redacted] and [redacted]. It was said that [redacted] went once by himself. WILBUR BROMS said he refused to go before the committee but spoke to WEINSTOCK on the telephone and told WEINSTOCK he refused to be questioned. WEINSTOCK answered "Well, you know what this means," and BROMS answered yes.



NK 100-31822

[redacted] said that when he talked with WEINSTOCK, WEINSTOCK told him that if he did not cooperate he would be expelled, and notice of the expelling would be published. [redacted] said [redacted] interrupted and told WEINSTOCK that such questioning shows WEINSTOCK for the dirty blackmailer that he is.

The meeting resulted in the passage of a three-point resolution put forth by [redacted] as follows:

1. The Railroad Club does not recognize the expulsions.
2. Another meeting of the Railroad Club would be called, and the New York CP State Committee would be invited to send representatives. [redacted] and BROMS would be present at this meeting.
3. The Railroad Club rejects the characterization of "anti-Party" which was recently applied to the publication "Progressive Labor".

The above resolution passed seven to one. the one vote registered against it coming from [redacted] had attempted to have his own resolution passed, but it was defeated seven to one, the only vote for [redacted] resolution coming from [redacted] himself. [redacted] resolution called for another meeting of the Railroad Club to discuss the expulsions to which the New York CP State Committee would be invited to send representatives, but [redacted] and BROMS were not to be present at this meeting. From what [redacted] said at this meeting, it appears that he is in contact with LOU WEINSTOCK of the National Office and that he is sympathetic to the present leadership of the CP.

Everyone at this meeting had something to say toward expressing their feelings about the expulsions. Judging from these conversations it would appear that the expulsions were a direct outgrowth of the recent printing of the new publication called "Progressive Labor" edited by [redacted]. Some of the feelings expressed were as follows:

[redacted] said that when reading in "The Worker" the charges against those expelled his only thought was resignation from the CP. [redacted] felt that the lies of the CP leadership violated the sanctity of the CP.

[redacted] felt that democratic procedure was probably violated, and he was horror-struck by the language in "The Worker", but [redacted] said that while he is in the CP he will try to correct these abuses.

[redacted] said he left the Catholic Church because it was so bogged down in dogma, ritual, and heretics, and his friends said he joined the CP because it was dogmatic like the Church. [redacted] felt that this whole business was silly.

WILBUR BROMS stated he had also left the Catholic Church. He said his mother was at the founding convention of the CP, and his father had been jailed for CP activities. BROMS said he loved the CP dearly, and it hurt him to see such bureaucracy in the CP. He said that when his friends read about his expulsion in "The Worker" they must believe it because they can't learn the other side. WILBUR traced his history in the CP, going back to his early days in Minneapolis and in New York City. WILBUR said he actually shouldn't even be in the Railroad Club because he does not work in the railroad industry. It was mentioned that [redacted] and WILBUR BROMS planned to give a concert to raise money for "Progressive Labor."

[redacted] reviewed his appearance before the investigating committee. He said he was asked for the names of those who produced "Progressive Labor", and he refused to give these names. He said he was asked if he had anything to do with producing "Progressive Labor", and he said he answered yes.

[redacted] said he refused to answer the questions, and he kept asking the investigating committee questions himself, such as what was wrong with "Progressive Labor". [redacted] said he got no answer to his questions. [redacted] said that the investigating committee was interested in how someone on relief could put out such a paper, and [redacted] said that he and [redacted] were accused of stealing money from the CP and also obtaining money from the FBI. [redacted] said he asked the committee how they arrived at such accusations but got no answer to his question. [redacted] felt it was despicable of the CP leadership to accuse him of stealing money. [redacted] said he was accused of being in contact with the Albanians and the neo-Trotskyites, and he denied such accusations. [redacted] humorously asked the question what is a neo-Trotskyite, saying that he hardly knows what a Trotskyite is.

NK 100-31822

[redacted] both mentioned that [redacted] of the Railroad Club had called to advise that he had been visited by the FBI; and although he wanted to attend this meeting, he did not do so because he feared he might be followed by FBI agents.

[redacted] introduced a note of controversy in the meeting. [redacted] referred to a recent meeting in New York City at the home of [redacted] and said he saw a resolution in [redacted] home which had been passed by the Albanian CP. [redacted] said he had typed it from a Chinese magazine and that his mere possession of the Albanian resolution meant nothing. From the very beginning of the meeting, [redacted] took the position that the meeting was illegal. He said no one from the State Committee was present and that those present who were not expelled were endangering themselves by meeting with expelled members. [redacted] referred to his contact with WEINSTOCK before the meeting, and he accused those expelled of infractions while at the same time he defended the CP leadership. [redacted] said that whoever associates with those expelled would suffer dire consequences.

Another meeting of the Railroad Club was set for two weeks from January 11, 1962, and will be held at the [redacted]

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-84935)  
FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-31822)  
SUBJECT: COMINFIL RAILROAD INDUSTRY  
IS - C

DATE: 3/12/62

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Date received <b>1/17/62</b>	(Name or symbol number) [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past.	Received by SA [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person     by telephone     by mail     orally     recording device     written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:  Date _____  Dictated _____ to _____  Transcribed _____  Authenticated by Informant _____	Date of Report <b>1/17/62</b>
	Date(s) of activity <b>1/17/62</b>

Brief description of activity or material

**Conversation with [redacted] Re [redacted]**

[redacted]

File where original is located if not attached  
[redacted]

Remarks:

**EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER NOT TO COMPROMISE THE INFORMANT.**

- 21 - New York (RM)
  - 1 - 100-111165 [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-37 [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-93296 [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-26018 (LOU WEINSTOCK)
  - 1 - 100- ("Progressive Labor")
  - 1 - 100-118174 [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-109560 [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-123494 [redacted]
  - 1 - 158-36 [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-83193 [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-10404 [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-48663 (IRVING POTASH)
  - 1 - 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS)
  - 1 - 100-128821 (CP, NYD, FACTIONALISM)
  - 1 - 100-87211 (CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)
  - 1 - 100-128817 (CP, NYD, MEMBERSHIP)
  - 1 - 100-80638 (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
  - 1 - 100-128809 (CP, NYD, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
  - 1 - 100-89590 (CP, USA, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
  - 1 - 100-132491 (CP, USA, RAILROAD REGION)
  - 2 - Buffalo (100- ) (RM)
  - 1 - 100-10454 [redacted]
  - 3 - Newark
  - 1 - 100-35539 [redacted]
- OAC:emg  
(26)

Block Stamp

SEARCHED .....INDEXED .....  
SERIALIZED .....FILED .....

MAR 13 1962  
FBI-NEW YORK

*Water*

*100-80638-1923*

January 17, 1962

In a recent conversation with [redacted] of the New York COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) Railroad Club, [redacted] mentioned that he had visited [redacted] of the Railroad Club at [redacted] on Broadway in [redacted] New York.

[redacted] said he spent three to four hours talking with [redacted] waited on customers. The conversation was concerned with the recent expulsion from the CP of three Railroad Club members. [redacted] took the position that those expelled were liars. [redacted] apparently believes the pro-Albanian charges brought against those expelled and [redacted] was largely responsible for these charges. [redacted] said he was the one who observed the copy of an Albanian resolution in the home of [redacted] one of those expelled. [redacted] described [redacted] as one who sided entirely with LOU WEINSTOCK and the CP national leadership. He said [redacted] claimed that a review of the past year showed that those expelled from the CP had been trying to get the CP to go way out "left", and [redacted] felt suspicions about the source of the money to print "Progressive Labor".

[redacted] said that [redacted] quit a job that LOU WEINSTOCK got for him and [redacted] wondered how [redacted] could contribute any money to "Progressive Labor" because [redacted] had been on relief. [redacted] indicated the CP had received information that [redacted] visited the Albanian United Nations delegation so the money for "Progressive Labor" must have come from the Albanians.

[redacted] spoke further about [redacted] position, saying that [redacted] spoke of a recent meeting of dissident elements of the CP from New York, New Jersey, and Buffalo, called by [redacted]

[redacted] said [redacted] belonged to the New York CP Railroad Club. [redacted] said that someone in the group told the CP National Headquarters about the meeting. [redacted] claimed he had talked to [redacted] of the New York CP Railroad Club and these three have taken the position of the three expelled Railroad Club

NK 100-31822

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members. LOU WEINSTOCK, IRVING POTASH, or BEN DAVIS of the CP National Office is supposed to attend the next Railroad Club meeting and answer questions of the railroad members.

[redacted] described [redacted] as cynical, and [redacted] said that [redacted] speaks of [redacted] in a derogatory manner and yet [redacted] considers [redacted] his friend.

[redacted] accused those expelled of flaunting their anti-CP leadership feelings against WEINSTOCK, POTASH, and DAVIS, and therefore could not go on calling themselves communists. [redacted] felt the CP has a right to defend itself and those expelled knew what they were doing when they took their anti-leadership position, and yet they took that position anyhow.

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-84935)  
FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-31822)  
SUBJECT: COMINFIL RAILROAD INDUSTRY  
IS - C

DATE: 3/14/62

Date received <b>1/10/62</b>	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past.	Received by SA [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person     by telephone     by mail     orally     recording device     written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent: Date Dictated _____ to _____ Transcribed _____ Authenticated by Informant _____	Date of Report <b>1/10/62</b> Date(s) of activity <b>1/10/62</b> b6 b7C b7D
--	---

Brief description of activity or material

[redacted] of NYCP  
Railroad Club

File where original is located if not attached  
[redacted]

Remarks:

EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION TO PRECLUDE COMPROMISING THE INFORMANT.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>19 - New York (RM)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 - 100-93296 [redacted]</li> <li>1 - 100-109560 [redacted]</li> <li>1 - 100-83193 [redacted]</li> <li>1 - 100-82905 (WILBUR BROMS)</li> <li>1 - 100-118174 [redacted]</li> <li>1 - 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS)</li> <li>1 - 100-26018 (LOU WEINSTOCK)</li> <li>1 - 100-46605 (UNSUB FROM WESTCHESTER)</li> <li>1 - 100-48663 (IRVING POTASH)</li> <li>1 - 100- ("Progressive Labor")</li> <li>1 - 100-128821 (CP, NYD, FACTIONALISM)</li> <li>1 - 100-87211 (CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)</li> <li>1 - 100-128817 (CP, NYD, MEMBERSHIP)</li> <li>1 - 100-80638 (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)</li> <li>1 - 100-128809 (CP, NYD, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)</li> <li>1 - 100-89590 (CP, USA, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)</li> <li>1 - 100-128813 (CP, NYD, PAMPHLETS &amp; PUBLICATIONS)</li> <li>1 - 100-132491 (CP, NYD, RAILROAD REGION)</li> </ul> <p>2 - Buffalo (100- ) (RM)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 - 100-10454 [redacted]</li> </ul> | <p>4 - Newark</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 - 100-35539 [redacted]</li> <li>1 - 100-46498 ("Progressive Labor") [redacted]</li> </ul> <p>OAC:emg (25)</p> |
|--|--|

Block Stamp

100-84935-1924

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....  
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....

MAR 15 1962  
FBI - NEW YORK

*[Handwritten signature]*

13

NK 100-31822

January 10, 1962

[REDACTED]

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b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] announced that WILBUR BROMS, [REDACTED] were recently expelled from the CP. [REDACTED] also indicated that the entire Buffalo CP leadership was also expelled. [REDACTED] were expelled. [REDACTED] did most of the talking at this meeting, and [REDACTED] said very little. [REDACTED] said that he, BROMS, and [REDACTED] were "called down" one at a time and questioned by BEN DAVIS, LOUIS WEINSTOCK, both of the CP National Office, and by an unidentified individual. [REDACTED] said they were questioned about their knowledge of the printing of the new paper called "Progressive Labor", edited by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] said he refused to answer the questions and was therefore expelled. [REDACTED] said he was questioned about the origins of the money to print this paper and was questioned about the paper's origin and those involved in its production. [REDACTED] said BROMS refused to answer their questions, and [REDACTED] gave the impression that all of those who were questioned refused to answer.

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Judging from the conversations it appears that at least one more copy of "Progressive Labor" will be printed, but the future of his paper is in doubt. [REDACTED] said he would fight his expulsion. Apparently, the Buffalo leadership suffered because they are friends of [REDACTED]. Those present at the meeting indicated that they felt the expulsions from the Railroad Club were not democratically done because the club was given no opportunity to pass on the expulsions. It was announced that a meeting of the entire Railroad Club was scheduled for the evening of January 11, 1962, at [REDACTED] home for the purpose of discussing these expulsions.

\* \* \* \* \*

For New York's information, [REDACTED] originally understood that the third person who sat with BEN DAVIS and

b7D



NK 100-31322

LOU WEINSTOCK, above, was the unsub from Westchester who was supposed to be the monitor of the Railroad Club. On 1/12/62, [redacted] advised that at a meeting of the Railroad Club on 1/11/62, the above third person was named as IRVING POTASH instead of unsub from Westchester. This info has been incorporated in a signed statement concerning the railroad meeting of 1/11/62 and will be disseminated to New York.

b7D

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)  
FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-4284D)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
IS - C

DATE: 3/19/62

Date received 1/30/62 2/7/62	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past	Received by SAs and [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)  
 in person     by telephone     by mail     orally     recording device     written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:  
 Date \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dictated \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_  
 Transcribed \_\_\_\_\_  
 Authenticated by Informant \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Report  
1/30/62  
2/7/62

Date(s) of activity  
1/28/62

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Brief description of activity or material  
Meeting of enlarged state CP  
leadership

File where original is located if not attached  
 [redacted]

Remarks:  
 OK  
 9

- New York (RM)  
 (1 - 97-169) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)  
 (1 - 100-97167) (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)  
 (1 - 100-84995) (GUS HALL)  
 (1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS)  
 (1 - 100-87211) (CP, USA - FACTIONALISM)  
 (1 - 100-74560) (CP, USA - FUNDS)  
 (1 - 100- ) (CORE)  
 (1 - 100-81675) (PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)

- 1 - Chicago (100- ) (CP, USA) (info) (RM)  
 1 - Philadelphia (100- ) (CP, USA) (info) (RM)

- 34 - Newark  
 (1 - 100-19491) (PAT TOOHEY)  
 (1 - 100-20886) [redacted]  
 (1 - 100-38837) [redacted]  
 (1 - 100-32233) (LEW MOROZE)  
 (1 - 100-45751) (CHARLES JOHNSON)  
 (1 - 100-45682) [redacted]  
 (1 - 100-35100) [redacted]  
 (1 - 100-30926) [redacted]  
 (1 - 100-43745) [redacted]  
 (1 - 100-25417) [redacted]  
 (1 - 100-17002) [redacted]

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 100-80638-1925  
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 MAR 20 1962  
 FBI - NEW YORK  
 J. W. [redacted]  
 415

b6  
b7C

NK 100-4284D

COPIES CONTINUED:

34 - Newark

- (1 - 100-14116) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-28823) (MAX GETLIN)
- (1 - 100-24696) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-25211) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-26972) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-32471) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-46365) (LABOR NEGRO VANGUARD)
- (1 - 100-4284-4K-1) (BERGEN COUNTY)
- (1 - 97-82) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)
- (1 - 100-38955) (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)
- (1 - 100-4284A) (FUNDS)
- (1 - 100-4284-7S-1) (ESSEX COUNTY)
- (1 - 100-4284-4P-1) (PASSAIC COUNTY)
- (1 - 100-4284-7T-1) (HUDSON COUNTY)
- (1 - 100-4284-4M-1) (MERCER COUNTY)
- (1 - 100-4284-4N-1) (MIDDLESEX COUNTY)
- (1 - 100-4284-4R-1) (UNION COUNTY)
- (1 - 100-4284H) (POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
- (1 - 100-4284U) (FACTIONALISM)
- (1 - 100-46009) (CORE)
- (1 - 157-354) (CORE)

[REDACTED]

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NK 100-4284D

January 30, 1962

There was an enlarged state leadership meeting of the New Jersey COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) at the L and G Hall, 108 Clinton Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, on Sunday, January 28, 1962. Present at this meeting were PAT TOOHEY [redacted]

[redacted]

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PAT TOOHEY reported that he expected to have 25 to 30 people present at this meeting, but because of sicknesses and deaths only the above number showed up.

[redacted] reported that MAX GETLIN died recently and that GETLIN was the third person in [redacted] group to die. [redacted] indicated that his group had been hampered by these deaths. CHARLIE JOHNSON reported that [redacted] and [redacted] were sick and were unable to attend.

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TOOHEY stated that a representative from the CP National Office was supposed to be present and give a report on a recent meeting in New York held on January 11, 1962, and also speak on Party unity and the fight against disrupters. TOOHEY said New Jersey was notified that this representative would not be present, so TOOHEY suggested that this meeting discuss the CP defense, its press, and general remarks. All agreed to this suggestion.

Concerning defense TOOHEY remarked that the CP has stood up in the face of attacks by the enemy. TOOHEY said that today only the most loyal, formidable, and hard-core CP members remained who, unlike five years ago in the face of reactionary attacks, are not running, dropping out, or getting excuses. TOOHEY said that since the Supreme Court decision last June, no leader has faltered even though the Department of Justice has sent out subpoenas. TOOHEY said the CP knows who its members are that received these subpoenas. TOOHEY said the CP was indicted and was scheduled

NK 100-4284D

to be heard on February 1, 1962. He said this date had been postponed until March 5, 1962. TOOHEY said the CP will fight for its existence and will fight for freedom of the press for its papers.

TOOHEY said the Mc Carran Act is a ticklish law and it involves the rights of all citizens in the United States. He said the reactionaries must find ways to get at the CP because they were thrown out of court in the past for failure to prove their point. He said the reactionaries attack from all sides, utilize paid disrupters and some disrupters have set up a printing press which is contradictory to the CP line. Among these disrupters TOOHEY referred to the [ ] group, who TOOHEY said were paid by Washington and who have taken over the leadership of the peace movement in Bergen County. He said [ ] got together a group in Bergen County, and set up the meeting of about 25 people, of which 20 later walked out on the meeting after seeing the shenanigans going on there.

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Regarding the press TOOHEY said that New Jersey has only about 250 subscriptions to the weekend edition of "The Worker" and only about 44 subscriptions to the mid-week edition. He said these subscriptions represent the lowest number for New Jersey in many years. He said the CP has in its files stacks of cards of expired subscriptions. He said there is no reason why every CP member can't take a weekend and mid-week subscription to "The Worker," and also sell or give subscriptions to friends. He asked that a discussion be held in every club concerning how many "Political Affairs" and "Workers" are needed and by the next state meeting these lists should be turned over to LEW MOROZE.

Regarding the fund drive, TOOHEY said that the New Jersey CP has a 1962 quota of \$2500 with Essex County carrying the major load of \$1200. He said the quota for Bergen County is \$400; for Passaic County - \$400; for Hudson County - \$100; for Mercer County - \$200; and for Middlesex County - \$200. He said that the quota for Union County is undetermined. TOOHEY said that at a recent national meeting, New Jersey was criticized for low dues payments and he urged that there be an increase in dues payments and in contributions.

NK 100-4284D

Concerning general remarks, the unidentified man, possibly from Bergen County, referred to the German General HEUSINGER, who has a post in NATO and an office at the Pentagon. This man thought that a campaign could be worked up to get HEUSINGER out. He suggested the campaign should involve social and neighborhood clubs, etc., and it would be good work for the CP to become engaged in. He felt there would be no red baiting in an activity like this, and he expressed the feeling that HEUSINGER should be tried just as was ADOLPH EICHMANN in Israel. He mentioned that the CP National Office is now printing a book entitled "True Facts About Heusinger", which should be out in about sixty days. He suggested this book be read and discussed in the CP clubs.

LEW MOROZE brought up a discussion of the possibility of a fight on taxes in New Jersey. There were not many remarks about this subject, but it was said that the new government in New Jersey is talking about an increase in taxes. LEW felt there was work the CP could do in this matter, and he mentioned a three-man subcommittee which had been appointed to study the tax question and report on it at the next state meeting.

PAT TOOHEY remarked about added burdens placed on the CP leadership by disrupters, who are pitting one leader against another. TOOHEY said that he and GUS HALL and other leaders had received anonymous letters denouncing one leader to another, and he said such activity has been going on in Philadelphia and Chicago. TOOHEY urged that by next July every CP member from the leadership on down should join some club and be active in it. He also said that each club chairman should study the recent statement by the National Office regarding Party unity and recent disruptions and discuss this statement within the club.

Concerning the Negro Liberation Movement, [redacted] [redacted] reported that busloads of students, sponsored by the COMMITTEE ON RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) would drive from Newark to Washington, D.C. on February 16 and 17, 1962. [redacted] to participate there in a demonstration for peace. [redacted] did not say to what extent the CP has an interest in this demonstration but he made it clear that if any club has a young person who would like to go to this demonstration, the

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NK 100-4284D

club should furnish that young person's name to [redacted] and he would see that the person got a seat on one of the buses.

TOOHEY made remarks about the encouraging signs from American colleges. He said more colleges are requesting CP leaders to speak on the campus and young students are reading more and more CP literature. He referred to the invitation that BEN DAVIS received from a college, which was cancelled by the college faculty. TOOHEY said such cancellations have happened on several occasions much to the displeasure of the students who threatened to go off campus and hire their own hall to listen to the CP speaker.

\* \* \*

February 7, 1962

The individual in a photograph of a white male described by the name of [redacted] is identical to the white male, possibly from Bergen County, who attended an enlarged state leadership meeting of the New Jersey COMMUNIST PARTY at the L and G Hall, 108 Clinton Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, on Sunday, January 28, 1962.

\* \* \*

February 7, 1962

The individual in a photograph of a white female described by the name of [redacted] is identical to the unidentified white female who attended an enlarged state leadership meeting of the New Jersey COMMUNIST PARTY at the L and G Hall, 108 Clinton Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, on Sunday, January 28, 1962.





DATE: 3/30/62

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)  
FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-4284D)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP  
IS - C

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b7C  
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Date received <b>2/13/62</b>	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past.	Received by SA [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person     by telephone     by mail     orally     recording device     written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Transcribed \_\_\_\_\_

Authenticated by Informant \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Report

**2/13/62**

Date(s) of activity

**2/13/62**

Brief description of activity or material

Conversation between [redacted]

File where original is located if not attached

[redacted]

Remarks:

EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER NOT TO COMPROMISE THE INFORMANT.

5 - New York (RM)  
(1-100- )

[redacted]

(1-100- )  
(1-100-97167)  
(1-100-87211)

(YOUNG PROGRESSIVES, aka. Yipper (ph) )  
(POLITICAL AFFAIRS)  
(CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)

9 - Newark

(1-100-38837)  
(1-100-40574)  
(1-100-44789)  
(1-100-35539)  
(1-100-34713)  
(1-100-4284U)  
(1-100-4284-7T-1)

[redacted]

(FACTIONALISM)  
(HUDSON COUNTY)

OAC:jfs  
(14)

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100 - 80638 - 1927

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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APR 3 1962	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*J. Waters*  
413

2/13/62

In a conversation recently with [redacted] of the NJCP, [redacted] mentioned that he was recently in contact with [redacted] in Jersey City, N.J., and [redacted] had mentioned to [redacted] that she had been picketing at the UN in NYC.

According to [redacted] said she was in touch with a young girl, student in NYC who is a member of an organization of the Young Progressives who called themselves "YIPPER" (ph) and [redacted] said that [redacted] remarks about this girl indicated this girl is so progressive that she should be in the CP. [redacted] said she did not want to bring this girl into the CP now and let her see how everyone in the CP is bickering and fighting with each other. [redacted] said that [redacted] also mentioned that she was interested in getting her new boy friend, a Greek boy, who works in N.Y., into the CP.

[redacted] also referred to her continuing friendship with a Negro female named [redacted] who lives near [redacted] and who [redacted] has known for quite awhile.

[redacted] said he talked with [redacted] about the recent CP statement on Party unity and the fight against disruptors and [redacted] she already knew about the statement, having heard about it from a person named [redacted] in a book store in NYC where [redacted] goes to get CP literature such as Political Affairs. [redacted] mentioned that [redacted] in the past has always picked up a copy of Political Affairs for [redacted] too and starting now [redacted] will get two extra copies of Political Affairs from this book store to bring back to [redacted] and also to [redacted] of the NJCP.

In discussing the above-mentioned Party statement on unity and its fight against disruptors, [redacted] mentioned that one of the CP members who was recently expelled from the CP in NYC was a member of the NYCP Railroad Club, of which [redacted] estranged husband [redacted] is also a member.

[redacted] described [redacted] as someone who is contented to continue her relationship with the CP as it has been over the past few months. [redacted] wants to work for the CP as she is doing by helping with CP activities and doing various independent jobs for the CP. [redacted]

NK 100-4284D

claimed she would not be happy working with old CP people and she feels that the people she is presently in contact with now are more personable and more to her liking. [redacted] referred to her pending divorce from [redacted] saying that [redacted] or she will make a trip soon to Mexico to obtain a quick divorce. [redacted] said she is anxious to get the divorce accomplished soon in order that she will be able to marry her Greek boy friend, whose mother [redacted] said is an alcoholic.

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\*\*\*\*\*

For info of New York, [redacted] at the present, has no information available to further identify the "young girl student in NYC who is a member of an organization of the Young Progressives" called Yipper (ph), nor can informant identify [redacted] who works in NYC and whose mother is alcoholic. Informant has been alerted to obtain the identities of these people, but informant cannot question [redacted] directly about them without jeopardizing himself.

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It is being left to New York's discretion whether or not to open cases on these individuals at this time since information presently available as to their identity is extremely vague.

DATE: APRIL 12, 1962

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

THE INFORMATION SET FORTH IN THE ENCLOSED STATEMENT MUST BE CONSIDERED AS EXTREMELY SENSITIVE AND CHICAGO FEELS THAT ANY DISCLOSURE THEREOF COULD JEOPARDIZE THE BUREAU'S MOST HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. IN VIEW OF THIS, EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR UTILIZATION OF THIS INFORMATION AND IT IS RECOMMENDED BY CHICAGO THAT THERE BE NO DISSEMINATION AT THIS TIME OUTSIDE THE BUREAU. IN THIS SAME REGARD, IT IS TO BE NOTED ALL DISCUSSIONS REFERRED TO THEREIN WERE OF A HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL NATURE AND THAT THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS ON ANY SINGLE OCCASION NUMBERED SIX, INCLUDING THE SOURCE. IN VIEW OF THIS, CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF INVESTIGATIVE LEADS FROM THIS MATERIAL IN ORDER THAT IT WILL NOT REFLECT UPON THE SOURCE.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 4 copies of an informant's statement dated April 11, 1962, containing information orally furnished on April 11, 1962, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information was reduced to writing on April 12, 1962, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A)134-46-7405.

GALE

- 4 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
    - (1 - 61-8077 GUS HALL)
  - 1 - Buffalo (100-1377 JOHN NOTO) (RM)
  - 2 - Cleveland (RM)
    - (1 - 100- [redacted])
    - (1 - 100- [redacted])
- CP, OHIO DISTRICT -  
PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)

*19*  
*4/11/62*

Copies continued on ii page  
RWH:Plb

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*100-80638-1928*

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APR 14 1962	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*John W. Hansen*  
*4/15*

CG 100-33741

Copies

- 4 - Detroit (RM)
  - (1 - 100-807 )
  - (1 - 100-8482 )
  - (1 - 100-13420 CARL WINTER)
  - (1 - 100-15868 CP, MICHIGAN DISTRICT - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100- CP, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT - YOUTH) (RM)
- 2 - Milwaukee (RM)
  - (1 - 100- GUS HALL)
  - (1 - 100- PUBLIC APPEARANCE OF CP, USA, LEADERS)
- 1 - Minneapolis (100-371 SAM DAVIS) (RM)
- 20- New York (RM)
  - (1 - 100-84994 GUS HALL)
  - (1 - 100- )
  - (1 - 105-24891 )
  - (1 - 100-128255 )
  - (1 - 100-89691 CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
  - (1 - 100-87211 CP, USA - FACTIONALISM)
  - (1 - 100-74560 CP, USA - FUNDS)
  - (1 - 100-86624 CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
  - (1 - 100-80636 CP, USA - LEGISLATIVE MATTERS)
  - ✓(1 - 100-80638 CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
  - (1 - 100-80640 CP, USA - NEGRO QUESTION)
  - (1 - 100-81675 CP, USA - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
  - (1 - 100-89590 CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
  - (1 - 100-96985 CP, USA - UNDERGROUND OPERATIONS)
  - (1 - 100-80644 CP, USA - YOUTH)
  - (1 - 100- PUBLIC APPEARANCE OF CP, USA, LEADERS)
  - (1 - 100- US vs. CP, USA)
  - (1 - 97-169 PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)
  - (1 - 100- EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)
  - (1 - 100- THE U. S. FESTIVAL COMMITTEE)

b6  
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CG 100-33741

Copies

23- Chicago

- (1 - A)134-46-7405)
- (1 - 100-3470 MORRIS CHILDS)
- (1 - 100-38186 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-12459 FLO HALL)
- (1 - 100-3313 JACK KLING)
- (1 - 100-2748 SAM KUSHNER)
- (1 - 61-867 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- (1 - 100-30108 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-20289 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-19491 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
- (1 - 100-18963 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - FACTIONALISM)
- (1 - 100-18961 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- (1 - 100-18954 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - LEGISLATIVE MATTERS)
- (1 - 100-18952 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - MEMBERSHIP)
- (1 - 100-19490 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - NATIONAL GROUPS)
- (1 - 100-18956 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - NEGRO QUESTION)
- (1 - 100-18953 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- (1 - 100-18209 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
- (1 - 100-19431 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- (1 - 100-18957 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - YOUTH)
- (1 - 100-3994) PUBLIC APPEARANCE OF CP, USA, LEADERS)
- (1 - 100- US vs. CP, USA)

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*DRWH*:Plb  
(58)

April 11, 1962

Following GUS HALL's return to Chicago from a short trip to northern Wisconsin on April 9 and 10, 1962, HALL requested that there be arranged for him a meeting with the current leadership of the CP of Illinois for the evening of April 10, 1962. In accordance with the request of HALL, such a meeting was arranged and held at the residence of JACK KLING in Chicago. All of those who attended this meeting with HALL took extreme precautions in order to be certain that they had not been followed to the meeting place or in some other manner jeopardized the meeting's security. Participating in this meeting in addition to HALL were JACK KLING, MORRIS CHILDS, FLO HALL, SAM KUSHNER, and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT.

GUS HALL, in opening this discussion, initially was sharp and critical in regard to the current work of the Illinois District and of the fact that he had been informed that there were still some liquidationist views being evidenced in this District. However, as the discussion progressed, he became less critical and stated that perhaps things were not as bad as he had been informed. HALL did not state who had been advising him regarding the Illinois District but it was the assumption of several of those present that it may have been CARL WINTER of Detroit.

Following GUS HALL's opening remarks, FLO HALL gave a general report which was based upon and almost a repeat of the report she had given at the last State Board meeting of the CP of Illinois held March 22, 1962, in which she dealt with security problems, problems of transfers, registration, and organizational work within the District.

Then LIGHTFOOT followed by raising the need for relieving JACK KLING of much of the work he now handles in the Jewish field but still leaving him, at least in name, as the nominal head of this work for the District. LIGHTFOOT felt this step was necessary since FLO HALL would soon be giving up

her organizational duties and leaving the Illinois District and [redacted] who is being considered to fill this vacated spot, would not be available until a number of months, after his release from prison in July, 1962. LIGHTFOOT felt that KLING was the only person capable of stepping into the job as Organizational Secretary during the interim period between FLO HALL's departure and [redacted] availability. He then noted that he was considering proposing at the next meeting of the District's leadership, the creation of a Secretariat consisting of three people which would include himself, JACK KLING, and possibly MORRIS CHILDS or some other individual.

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GUS HALL then stated that the present political analysis of the Party was that "We don't have to go underground, though we must take some necessary security precautions". This analysis, he noted, was based on serious consideration of the current situation and the fact that it had been proved already that any legal process against the Party would be prolonged which would give the Party opportunity to consider its future moves.

HALL then commented that when NOTO had recently been freed, he had skipped with the \$15,000 which had been posted as bail bond for him in his wife's name. According to HALL, all the people like NOTO feel they need some compensation for what they have gone through for the Party and that this had been NOTO's way of securing it. This action of NOTO, he noted, had caused some serious problems because other people had money involved in these bail funds.

HALL then advised the group that the agenda had been pretty well set for the big June "Defense Conference" which will probably be held between June 1 and the middle of the month. The agenda for this meeting would include 8 specific points and documents are presently being drawn up to cover each of these points. There will be some discussion of the items making up the agenda for the June "Defense Conference" at the preparatory meeting scheduled for May in New York City which will be attended by all members of the old National Executive Committee. HALL then listed the agenda described above as follows:



1. The World Situation and the New Epoch, the United States and the European Common Market, and Current Differences Between the World Communist Parties.

2. The Ultra Right, The Upsurge of Peoples and Democratic Movements, and the KENNEDY Administration as it Relates to the Right.

3. Prospects for the 1962 and 1964 Election and a Discussion of the Rights of the Party and How the Party is Being Deprived of Such Electoral Rights.

4. The Left-New and Old, and the Relation of the CP, USA, Thereto.

5. The Work of the CP, USA, During the Last Ten Months and the Relation Thereof to Clubs, Mass Work, and the Press.

6. The Negro People's Struggle.

7. Trade Union Work.

8. Youth.

In regard to Point 3 above, HALL noted that at the present time, a detailed and thorough inquiry as to how the CP is being deprived of its electoral rights is being carried on by Party attorneys.

At this point, HALL took up what he described as the CP, USA's chief point of concentration today, the youth. He pointed out that the Party is starting and is already working on a drive to organize the youth and the aim is to bring into the Party in the next few months, at least 250 new members. [redacted] is now taking this subject matter up on the West Coast in conjunction with his activities in regard to the Eighth World Youth Festival delegation. HALL presently feels that the goal of 250 members will be met and everyone, he says, agrees

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with him. Such new youths, according to HALL, will be organized into secret Party groups, names of which will be unimportant, in various localities. They will, however, be placed in separate clubs and not be combined with existing clubs. However, there may be instances where they could be attached to an existing club. This recruiting and organization of the youth is the only way, according to HALL, to fill the "age gap in the Party".

In order to indoctrinate and educate these youth, HALL stated there will probably be set up ultimately a Marxist Institute which could also be utilized to educate present Party people. Some youth attending such study courses might not, therefore, be immediately attached to the Party organization. Ultimately, this new Marxist Institute, acting as a main center, would send out lecturers, hold schools, and organize symposiums, and which may lead to the possibility of eliminating the workers' schools and schools of social science now in operation.

Once the youth have been organized, HALL is of the opinion that such youth must be drawn into the leadership, even if they have not as yet fully developed.

HALL then noted that he had been quite impressed by the fact he had been informed that there were, in the City of Chicago, 17 youths between the ages of 16 and 19, studying regularly Marxism-Leninism. Such youth, it was pointed out to him, have no meeting place but move from house to house for their studies, with the last such meeting of this study group being held at the residence of KLING.

According to HALL, the youths who had been in the Party involved with the left like [redacted] had now been completely cleared out except in the Los Angeles District. Here, HALL stated, there were still some of such youths who were "no good beatniks" but action would be taken to eliminate them.

HALL indicated that he had not been too happy as to the role that [redacted] had been playing among the youths here

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in Chicago. In HALL's opinion, [redacted] had been following too pessimistic a line and he blamed [redacted] for the fact that up to a week or so ago, the Party had only one member at the University of Chicago. Now, the situation is a little better for, as of last week, the Party now had a couple more at the school. In looking towards the future, HALL was optimistic and felt that [redacted] outlook would be raised.

The discussion then shifted to the matter of "The Worker" and the abolishing of the Midwest edition. According to HALL, the Midwest edition of "The Worker" will be abolished as of April 28, 1962. While there are some differences of opinion on the matter, the decision to abolish it will stand. KUSHNER, who was previously editor of the Midwest edition in Chicago, stated he agreed with the decision to abandon it. However, HALL noted that [redacted] and CARL WINTER of Detroit were very much against the move. HALL noted he had been very upset and disgusted with the attitude of those in Michigan on this matter and particularly in regard to their sharp letters to the editor, "The Worker", on the question of liquidation of the Midwest edition.

HALL then criticized [redacted]. He claimed that she had not, since "The Worker" a few months ago carried the statement that the paper did on a number of occasions reflect the voice of the CP, sent in any news under her own byline or with the Cleveland dateline to the paper.

It was then disclosed that under the new arrangement, "The Worker" will no longer have an editorial office in Chicago but there will be a "Worker" correspondent in the person of [redacted]

It was then mentioned that GUS HALL has committed himself to speaking dates in Wisconsin for the period of May 3-6, 1962. However, specific details regarding such speaking engagements were not mentioned. Following this Wisconsin appearance, HALL will come to the Chicago area for a few more days and for a few more speeches, including one which has been tentatively lined up at the University of Chicago.

DATE: 4-17-62

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Re Chicago airtel to Bureau dated 4/10/62, captioned  
"CP, USA - YOUTH, IS - C".

THE INFORMATION SET FORTH IN THE ENCLOSED STATEMENT MUST BE CONSIDERED AS EXTREMELY SENSITIVE AND CHICAGO FEELS THAT ANY DISCLOSURE THEREOF AT THIS TIME COULD JEOPARDIZE ONE OF THE BUREAU'S MOST HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANTS. IN VIEW OF THIS, EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR UTILIZATION OF THIS INFORMATION AND IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THERE BE NO DISSEMINATION AT THIS TIME OUTSIDE OF THE BUREAU. IN THIS SAME REGARD, IT IS TO BE NOTED THAT THE DISCUSSIONS REFERRED TO IN THE ENCLOSED STATEMENT WERE OF A HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL NATURE AND AT NO TIME DID THE NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS INVOLVED NUMBER IN EXCESS OF 4, INCLUDING THE SOURCE. IN VIEW OF THIS, CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF INVESTIGATIVE LEADS FROM THIS MATERIAL IN ORDER THAT SUCH ACTIVITY WILL NOT REFLECT UPON THE SOURCE.

8 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)

- (1 - 61-8077 GUS HALL)
- (1 - 100-436225 THE U. S. FESTIVAL COMMITTEE)
- (1 - 100-436224 EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)
- (1 - 64-200-48 CP OF PUERTO RICO)
- (1 - 100- CP OF HAITI)

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100-80635-1929

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J. Waters	
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CG 100-33741

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- 1 - Butte (100- CP, MONTANA DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
- 4 - Cleveland (RM)  
(1 - 100- [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100- [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100- [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100- CP, OHIO DISTRICT - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
- 14- Detroit (RM)  
(1 - 100-807 [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100-8482 [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100- [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100-13420 CARL WINTER)  
(1 - 100- [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100-13740 HELEN WINTER)  
(1 - 100- CP, MICHIGAN DISTRICT - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)  
(1 - 100-2050 CP, MICHIGAN DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)  
(1 - 100- CP, MICHIGAN DISTRICT - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)  
(1 - 100-17161 CP, MICHIGAN DISTRICT - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)  
(1 - 100- CP, MICHIGAN DISTRICT - YOUTH)  
(1 - 100-30141 "LABOR TODAY")  
(1 - 100- THE U. S. FESTIVAL COMMITTEE)  
(1 - 100- EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)
- 2 - Milwaukee (RM)  
(1 - 100-1256 [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100-421 CP, WISCONSIN DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 2 - Minneapolis (RM)  
(1 - 100-371 [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100-1878P CP, MINNESOTA-DAKOTAS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)

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Copies

- 1 - Los Angeles (100- [redacted]) (RM)
- 2 - Newark (RM)
  - (1 - 100-2974 PATRICK TOOHEY)
  - (1 - 100-4284 CP, NEW JERSEY DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 18- New York (RM)
  - (1 - 101-559 JESUS COLON)
  - (1 - 100-84994 GUS HALL)
  - (1 - 100- PATRICK TOOHEY)
  - (1 - 100-19679 ISADORE WOFSY)
  - (1 - 100-74560 CP, USA - FUNDS)
  - (1 - 100-128861 CP, USA - RESERVE FUNDS)
  - (1 - 100-86624 CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
  - (1 - 100-80638 CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
  - (1 - 100- CP, USA - NATIONAL GROUPS)
  - (1 - 100-80641 CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
  - (1 - 100-81675 CP, USA - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
  - (1 - 100-89590 CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
  - (1 - 100-80644 CP, USA - YOUTH)
  - (1 - 97-169 PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)
  - (1 - 100- THE U. S. FESTIVAL COMMITTEE)
  - (1 - 100- EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)
  - (1 - 100- CP OF HAITI)
  - (1 - 100-6562 CP OF PUERTO RICO)
- 1 - Omaha (100- [redacted]) (RM)
- 2 - San Juan (RM)
  - (1 - 100- PATRICK TOOHEY)
  - (1 - 100-20 CP OF PUERTO RICO)
- 10- Chicago
  - (1 - A)134-46-7418)
  - (1 - 100-3470 MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 100- [redacted])
  - (1 - 100-17517 GUS HALL)
  - (1 - 100-2748 SAM KUSHNER)
  - (1 - 100-3546 [redacted])
  - (1 - 100- [redacted])
  - (1 - 100-18953 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
  - (1 - 100-18209 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)

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CG 100-33741

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 8 copies of an informant's statement dated April 13 and 15, 1962, containing information orally furnished on April 13 and 15, 1962, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information was reduced to writing on April 17, 1962, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A)134-46-7418.

For the information of the Detroit Office, Chicago, in referenced airtel, indicated to the Bureau that no letterhead memorandum was being prepared in accordance with instructions in Bureau letter dated October 13, 1961, captioned "THE U. S. FESTIVAL COMMITTEE (EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)", Bufile 100-436224 as it related to the information furnished by CG 5824-S\* and pertained to the Eighth World Youth Festival. This action was undertaken by Chicago since the information had been secured in connection with highly confidential discussion involving CG 5824-S\* and two other individuals and because Chicago was of the opinion that any disclosure of this information outside the Bureau could pinpoint CG 5824-S\* and jeopardize the Bureau's most highly placed informant. It was further pointed out to the Bureau that Chicago made full channelization of the information in that instance to pertinent files in Chicago and other offices. It was further noted that this information could be utilized as the basis of investigative lead information and if substantiated, such substantiating detail could be incorporated into a form suitable for dissemination in accordance with the Bureau's instructions by the office handling the substantive case. In regard to the information appearing in the enclosed statement, the Chicago Office is of the opinion that the same recommendation should apply as it regards the Eighth World Youth Festival.

With regard to the financial matters discussed herein on page seven, CG 5824-S\* advised that he feels that he will ultimately be able to supply the Bureau with the details concerning the decisions reached on the handling or changes in Party bookkeeping records. Chicago will closely follow this matter.



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April 13 and 15, 1962

It has now been learned that on April 12, 1962, GUS HALL and MORRIS CHILDS proceeded to Detroit, Michigan, from Chicago, Illinois, in the personal automobile owned by MORRIS CHILDS. They arrived in the Detroit area at approximately 1:00 p.m. at which time they proceeded to the WINTER residence in that city.

During the period of April 12 to 13, 1962, HALL and CHILDS met with CARL and HELEN WINTER on several occasions. While no one other than HALL, CHILDS, and the WINTERS participated in any of these discussions which were held in the WINTER residence, it has been learned that [redacted] had been present at the WINTER home as a temporary guest. [redacted] reportedly had been up to Milan, Michigan, visiting her husband who is confined to the Federal Correctional Institution in that city and between her visits was staying at the WINTER residence.

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The original arrival at the WINTER residence by HALL and CHILDS came unannounced and no preparatory steps had been taken in order to prepare the WINTERS for the discussions carried on by HALL. Although all discussions were held at the WINTER residence, neither CHILDS nor HALL took accommodations at that location but rather each secured individually accommodations at the Hotel Aristocrat located at 9825 Grand River, Detroit. In this motel, it was learned that HALL was registered in room 16 and that CHILDS was registered in room 3 for the evening of April 12, 1962. Since this motel was located only several blocks away from the WINTER residence, CHILDS and HALL were able to walk individually to the WINTER residence located at 9556 Burnett, Detroit. While both had registered at the same motel, it was further learned that neither HALL nor CHILDS while staying at this location made any personal contact with each other.

During discussions which involved the WINTERS, HALL, and CHILDS during the period April 12 to 13, 1962, the following matters came up for discussion:



Re: Publication "Labor Today"

According to WINTER, [redacted] is now in Detroit and will take over as the Editor of "Labor Today." The first issue of this publication should appear by April 20 or at the latest April 27, 1962. While the domestic subscription rates for the six issues of this publication will be set at \$2.50 per year, there has not been established, as yet, a foreign subscription rate.

In discussing this publication, both CARL WINTER and HALL felt that it was imperative that the various CPs throughout the world be informed of this new forthcoming publication in order that they might pass on this information to the various trade union organizations within their countries and have them order subscriptions to it. While both felt it was necessary that word get to the various foreign Parties regarding this publication, they also emphasized that any subscriptions or bundle orders for the publication be applied for in the name of trade union organizations in such countries and not in the name of that Party. This, they emphasized, was important because they do not want the publication "Labor Today" to have direct dealings with such Parties in order that the publication be protected from being identified as sponsored by the CP, USA or any CP abroad.

In addition to the suggested contact with the various CPs abroad, CARL WINTER also noted that the publication would send independently letters to trade unions throughout the world advising them of this new publication and requesting that they subscribe in their names.

Re: Party Youth Drive

Here, HALL pointed out the details of the Party's campaign for bringing into the organization 250 new youths within the next few months. WINTER agreed completely with HALL that the objective of 250 new youths in the Party during that period could be obtained. He also agreed with HALL that the Party should organize such youth into separate clubs and sections but even went further to the extent of suggesting the creation within the national organization of the CP, USA

of a new youth division to handle this matter.

It was at this point that HALL noted that if his recent trip to the Midwest, of which the Detroit visit was a part, had to be described, he would "characterize it as a trip for the youth."

Re: The Eighth World Youth Festival

HALL discussed the Eighth World Youth Festival with both CARL and HELEN WINTER. He presented to them in written form the names of four to five youths which he had brought with him to the discussion which he felt the WINTERS might utilize for possible consideration in the selection of delegates representing Michigan in the U.S. Youth Festival Delegation. In this regard, he noted that the Michigan District should give consideration for finally selecting a total of two to three delegates from that area as members of the U.S. delegation.

In this connection, the WINTERS presented the name of [redacted] as a possible delegate. While HALL would not commit himself on this matter, he advised that consideration would be given to their suggestion.

When discussing the matter of the U.S. delegation to the World Youth Festival, HALL again, as he had reportedly done in the past during similar discussions with others, laid down the requirement that any delegate to be considered for participation in the U.S. delegation must be close to the Party and agree without hesitation to travel to the Soviet Union for two to three weeks after the close of the Festival in Helsinki.

Re: Minnesota-Dakotas District Leadership Question

In discussing the Minnesota situation, HALL noted that the District's chairman is presently under provisional suspension and that the organizational secretary, [redacted] is coming to Chicago to replace SAM KUSHNER. Because of this, there had been created serious problems of replacement of these individuals and

in this regard he advised WINTER that he had been to see MATT SAVOLA in an effort to convince him to move to Minneapolis to take over the District's leadership. HALL noted that he had been unsuccessful in his efforts to convince SAVOLA to move from Wisconsin to Minnesota. At this point, WINTER noted that he had been previously acquainted with SAVOLA and felt that HALL's consideration of him as a possible leadership replacement in Minnesota was good and was disappointed that he had not been successful in this regard.

WINTER had no suggestions to make to HALL as to how to solve the leadership problem in Minnesota and could not provide the name of any person he felt might fit in at this time. At this point, HALL made the suggestion which he felt was worthy of consideration that the idea be looked into of attempting to combine the Districts of Minnesota and Wisconsin and detaching from the Minnesota District the Dakotas area and assigning that to the State of Montana. In this regard, HALL noted that he felt that the problems of both Minnesota and Wisconsin, except perhaps for the industrial concentration located in Southern Wisconsin, are generally identical for both areas. If such a step could be taken, HALL was of the opinion that one individual could be found to head both areas. WINTER felt that HALL's suggestion in this regard deserved more study and had merit.

No action was taken nor was any decision made in regard to the above at this time, nor did either HALL or WINTER indicate that at the present time the matter would be given additional attention.

Re: Midwest Edition, "The Worker"

Both HALL and CARL WINTER spent considerable time discussing the recent decision of the National Center to abolish the Midwest Edition of "The Worker." While HALL fully supported this decision regarding the Midwest Edition, WINTER was not fully in accord. WINTER's opinion was that the Midwest Edition should be temporarily retained, at least until [redacted] moves permanently to Chicago as the replacement for SAM KUSHNER. According to WINTER, the opportunity should be given to DAVIS to see whether he can do better in his position in the handling of the Midwest Edition than KUSHNER, who WINTER characterized as lazy and as a person who had failed to give his best in this regard.

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HALL then raised his objection with WINTER in relation to some letters which he described as "insulting" which he stated [redacted] had sent to "The Worker" protesting the abolishing of the Midwest Edition.

During none of their discussions regarding the Midwest Edition was WINTER ever able to convince HALL that the paper should not be abolished.

In this same regard, the discussions turned as to whom might be drawn in to work more closely with "The Worker" in Chicago. Here, WINTER noted that while she could not be put in charge of the paper, [redacted] should be drawn much closer and utilized more fully as she was a very competent person. He feels that she is a good writer and worker and has in the past and still does contribute articles to the paper regularly under the name [redacted]. In addition, both HALL and WINTER felt that the Illinois District should give consideration to bringing into use an old-time newspaperman by the name of [redacted] who now resides in Evanston, Illinois. [redacted] at one time offered his services to KUSHNER but had not been utilized. He has the experience necessary that the paper needs and if drawn in could gather material for articles and write stories for publication.

In regard to some previous comments reportedly made by HALL relating to his disappointment in the failure of [redacted] to submit articles recently under her by-line from Cleveland, CARL WINTER had the following to say:

From his information, [redacted] now has a job which she claims she would be subject to lose if it becomes known she is writing for a Communist publication. Therefore, when "The Worker" published its statement that it does on many occasions publish the views of the CP, she felt that by adding her by-line to stories she had written for "The Worker", this would result in the loss of her job. She had, therefore, discontinued sending stories in under her by-line and Cleveland dateline but, according to WINTER, has continued to submit articles not appearing under her name to "The Worker" contrary to HALL's information. In view of the danger [redacted] feared in relation to her job, WINTER felt the action taken by [redacted] was justified and HALL agreed.

Re: Publication of a Spanish Language Newspaper

According to HALL, the Party is presently preparing to put out in New York City a paper in the Spanish language. Presently, for the lack of someone better, he is considering JESUS COLON for Editor and the paper will be published on at least a weekly basis. HALL stated that such a paper in the Spanish language is important because of the large number of Spanish-speaking people which they must reach. HALL feels that the issuance of such a paper is of sufficient importance that they must go through with this matter even if it means giving up something else someplace.

Re: The Communist Party of Puerto Rico

According to HALL, he is sending PAT TOOMEY to Puerto Rico for a period of six months to work with and attempt to reorganize the Party there.

Re: The Communist Party of Haiti

HALL, here, informed CARL WINTER that he was looking for someone to go to Haiti to look into the Party situation there. The Party in Haiti, according to HALL, is "split up six ways" and since the situation existing there is a result of U.S. imperialism, the American Party has some responsibility in straightening out the mess. Presently, he has no one in mind for this assignment but feels that the person for this task must be qualified in speaking the French language and, therefore, he was open to any suggestions.

**Re: Planned Audit of Financial  
Records of CP, USA**

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As a result of a discussion carried on between HELEN WINTER, MORRIS CHILDS, and GUS HALL, it was decided that HELEN WINTER, as a member of the National Review, Audit and Appeals Commission, should plan to go to New York City on April 16, 1962. The purpose of this trip by WINTER was to lay the groundwork for complete audit of all of the Party's financial records. During discussion on this subject, it was learned that these individuals had desired such an audit because Party attorneys who had looked into the matter of the Party's financial records previously, feel that the present bookkeeping methods present an "impossible situation". However, before doing any groundwork regarding this matter, WINTER will discuss the problem with Party attorneys. After such discussion, her task at this time will then be to see that all money received is going to the Party, for example, money from WOPSY, and to trace the manner in which it is being receipted for. In this latter regard, these individuals emphasized they did not want a repeat of some carelessly made receipts which had appeared in some of "The Worker" records and which tended to indicate the conclusion that some of "The Worker" funds might have been drawn from foreign sources as support for "The Worker".

In line with this discussion of Party financial matters, HALL mentioned, without naming names, that he will go through with his plan to set up a small National Finance Committee to handle funds received through regular Party channels, for example, from dues, contributions, etc. However, this small financial committee would not handle or be given any information concerning such funds as the CP reserve fund, money possessed by WOPSY, or received from other confidential sources.

**Re: Schedule of Future Meetings  
Being Arranged by National  
Office, CP, USA**

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HALL advised both CARL and HELEN WINTER that there had been scheduled for New York City on April 18, 1962, a meeting

between certain CP, USA, leaders and representatives of three Districts, namely, Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio. At this meeting, the work of the three Districts present would be discussed in detail. In addition, there would be some preparatory groundwork laid for a "Defense Conference" to be held during early June in New York City. While it was learned that as of April 13, 1962, no decision had been specifically made as to who would proceed to New York City from Detroit for the meeting of April 18, 1962, it was HALL's hope that either HELEN WINTER or [ ] might be able to attend. However, in regard to [ ] it was felt that this individual might encounter some difficulty in securing time off from his work to attend this affair and, therefore, it might be up to WINTER to participate in this meeting. As noted above, HELEN WINTER will proceed to New York City on April 16, 1962, in connection with another task and, therefore, might be in a position to take on this additional responsibility.

HALL then advised both of the WINTERS that in New York City on either May 6 or 7, 1962, the individuals who had constituted the old National Executive Committee would assemble to commence a two to three day meeting. This meeting would be held to finalize the preparations for the holding of the "Defense Conference" in New York City which would be held during early June. According to HALL, this June "Defense Conference" will bring together about 200 people and, in HALL's words, might amount to a substitute for a Party Convention.

Re: Miscellaneous Information

According to CARL WINTER, he had received information indicating that [ ] was then in Detroit; however, WINTER did not know the purpose of [ ] current visit there. In discussing [ ] WINTER described him as a "gentleman revolutionary" who now feels that in his present position, the only contribution to the movement he must now make is that of a financial nature.

During the course of their discussion, CARL WINTER informed HALL that under the current instructions of his doctor,

he will still be confined to home for a number of weeks and will be required to undertake definite periods of rest each day in order to fully recover from his bout with pneumonia. In addition, he mentioned that his present condition has been somewhat complicated by the fact that his doctor has now also discovered that he has an ulcer.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33742)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - FUNDS  
IS - C

DATE: April 18, 1962

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement dated April 15, 1962, containing information orally furnished on April 15, 1962, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information was reduced to writing on April 17, 1962, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A)134-46-7416.

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Indianapolis (RM)
  - (1 - 100- CP, INDIANA DISTRICT - FUNDS)
  - (1 - 100-3474V CP, INDIANA DISTRICT - MEMBERSHIP)
- 3 - New York (RM)
  - (1 - 100-74560 CP, USA - FUNDS)
  - (1 - 100-80638 CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
  - (1 - 134-91)
- 5 - Chicago
  - (1 - A)134-46-7416)
  - (1 - 100-3470 MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 61-867 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - (1 - 100-17769 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - FUNDS)

*DW* RWH:Plb  
(12)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
	SERIALIZED
APR 20 1962	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*Waters*  
*4-5-62 on - 80638-1930*

CG 100-33742

CG 5824-S\*, on April 15, 1962, advised he had no knowledge as to how the dues payments referred to herein were transferred from the CP of Indiana to CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT of the CP of Illinois. In addition, when LIGHTFOOT turned this money over to him, no comment was made in this regard by LIGHTFOOT. CG 5824-S\* further advised that the dues noted herein will be transmitted by him to NY 694-S\* in the near future in the form of a personal check made out to NY 694-S\*. In turn, NY 694-S\* will be requested, when convenient, to turn an equivalent amount of money over to a CP, USA, representative at a future contact.

April 15, 1962

During early April, 1962, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was heard to state that he had then in his possession certain money, amount not stated, representing the CP dues from the Indiana District which he was to turn over to a representative of the CP, USA, in New York City. Subsequently, it was learned that LIGHTFOOT had not turned over such funds to a CP, USA, representative and, therefore, on April 13, 1962, delivered them to MORRIS CHILDS in order that this individual could handle such transmittal. When this money was turned over to CHILDS, it was noted that it was contained in a sealed envelope.

It has now been learned that the total amount of money contained in the above envelope was in the sum of \$25.00. This money was accompanied by a note which read as follows:

"Indiana. Dues January, February, March, 1962.  
Based on 50 members. No breakdown, many unemployed because  
of strikes and etc. \$25.00."

100-1000 (100-1000)

10/1/31

100-1000 (100-1000)

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100-1000 (100-1000)



100-1000 (100-1000)

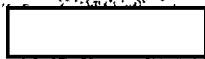
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(9)

100-80638-1931

SEARCHED  
 INDEXED  
 MAY 1 1969  
*[Signature]*

NY 100-12325

April 12, 1952

On April 9, 1952, ELIZABETH BRIDGES visited Mrs. MARION C. MARICCA LEMER at 5:20 p.m., at the request of the latter.

LEMER told BRIDGES she had talked to WILLIAM PATTERSON about her, BRIDGES. PATTERSON told her that it was about time BRIDGES joined the Communist Party. LEMER explained to BRIDGES that the main purpose of the Communist Party is to get in human rights in countries, these are political parties and the Communist Party is a political party. LEMER asked BRIDGES to join the Communist Party to which BRIDGES replied she would be a member. LEMER asked she would agree to PATTERSON and determine where she would be assigned to a Brooklyn neighborhood club or be placed in a committee club, possibly LEMER'S group. An initiation fee of \$10.00 was asked of BRIDGES by LEMER but BRIDGES said she would collect it later. LEMER said she would not be overworked with assignments, she would work on the party projects because she feared BRIDGES would lose interest and drop out of the Party. LEMER instructed BRIDGES to say to her in a while during tasks requested by the Party, she be willing to pay no because she didn't want BRIDGES burdened with a lot of assignments. LEMER also instructed BRIDGES not to tell MARICCA LEMER about her membership in the Party because LEMER would resign BRIDGES the same job as she knew of this fact. LEMER said she would tell BRIDGES her assignment in the Party on April 7, April 10, then they met at the Marshall Cafeteria. LEMER said because of her cold she could not attend the meeting of the Democratic Forum to be held that night, April 9, 1952, at the Times Square Hotel, Manhattan.

LEMER was very excited that BRIDGES volunteered to join the Party and would have kissed her but her cold prevented this; BRIDGES left LEMER'S residence and went to the Times Square Hotel.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-4931)

FROM : SA JOSEPH V. WATERS

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
IS-C

DATE: 5/3/62

Report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS dated 4/18/62, at New York, reflects activity of the CPUSA, for the quarterly period 1/1/62 to 3/31/62. Details of such activity may be found in this report under the following:

Organization  
Funds  
Factionalism

1-NY (100-80641) (CPUSA - ORGANIZATION) (415)  
1-NY (100-80638) (CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP) (415)  
1-NY (100-74560) (CPUSA - FUNDS) (415)  
1-NY (100-81338) (CPUSA - SECURITY MEASURES) (415)  
1-NY (100-96985) (CPUSA - UNDERGROUND OPERATIONS) (415)  
1-NY (100-87211) (CPUSA - FACTIONALISM) (415)  
1-NY (100-86624) (CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)  
1-NY (100-88123) (CPUSA - UNITED NATIONS) (415)  
1-NY (100-87212) (CPUSA - COLONIAL MATTERS) (415)  
1-NY (100-79717) (CPUSA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (415)  
1-NY (100-80636) (CPUSA - LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES) (415)  
1-NY (100-89691) (CPUSA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES) (415)  
1-NY (100-80640) (CPUSA - NEGRO QUESTION) (415)  
1-NY (100-80644) (CPUSA - YOUTH MATTERS) (415)  
1-NY (100-80643) (CPUSA - WOMEN MATTERS) (415)  
1-NY (100-80634) (CPUSA - FARMERS MATTERS) (415)  
1-NY (100-88297) (CPUSA - CULTURAL ACTIVITIES) (415)  
1-NY (100-79498) (CPUSA - VETERANS MATTERS) (415)  
1-NY (100-54651) (CPUSA - NATIONAL GROUPS) (415)  
1-NY (100-80864) (CPUSA - RELIGION) (415)  
1-NY (100-81675) (CPUSA - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS) (415)  
1-NY (100-80633) (CPUSA - EDUCATION) (415)  
1-NY (100-133902) (CPUSA - ATTEMPTS OF CP TO INFILTRATE MASS ORGANIZATIONS) (415)  
1-NY (100-140277) (CP INTEREST IN PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE) (413)  
1-NY (100-145839) (PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF PARTY LEADERS) (415)  
1-NY (100-4931) (415)

JVW:rmv  
(26)

100-80638-1932

Searched.....	Indexed.....
Serialized.....	Filed.....
May 3, 1962	
FBI - New York	

*J. Waters*  
415

NY 100-4931

International Relations  
Political Activities  
Legislative Activities  
Domestic Administration Issues  
Negro Question  
Youth Matters  
Cultural Activities  
National Groups  
Pamphlets and Publications  
Education  
Public Appearances of Party Leaders

No information suitable for inclusion in this report was developed during the period 1/1/62 to 3/31/62, concerning the following activities of the CPUSA:

Membership  
Security Measures  
Underground Operations  
United Nations  
Colonial Matters  
Women Matters  
Farmers Matters  
Veterans Matters  
Religion  
Attempts of CP to Infiltrate Mass Organizations  
CP Interest in Puerto Rican Independence

SAC  
 ASAC  
 ASAC  
 ASAC 3  
 ASAC 4  
 SEC 11  
 SEC 12  
 SEC 13  
 SEC 14  
 SEC 21  
 SEC 22  
 SEC 23  
 SEC 24  
 SEC 31  
 SEC 33  
 SEC 34

**ESTIMATED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP  
 AS OF MARCH 31, 1962**

The following figures are set out according to states and territory, field divisions and Communist Party districts:

MEMBERSHIP IN STATES AND TERRITORIES

Alabama	5	Maine	0	Pennsylvania	151
Alaska	0	Maryland	40	Rhode Island	15
Arizona	20	Massachusetts	93	S. Carolina	41
Arkansas	0	Michigan	194	S. Dakota	42
California	989	Minnesota	185	Tennessee	43
Colorado	2	Mississippi	0	Texas	29
Connecticut	33	Missouri	38	Utah	15
Delaware	3	Montana	19	Vermont	2
District of Columbia	7	Nebraska	5	Virginia	8
Florida	33	Nevada	0	Washington	228
Georgia	3	New Hampshire	2	W. Virginia	10
Hawaii	2	New Jersey	150	Wisconsin	113
Idaho	5	New Mexico	5	Wyoming	0
Illinois	447	New York	1,988		
Indiana	52	N. Carolina	4	<b>Total</b>	<b>5,164</b>
Iowa	3	N. Dakota	19		
Kansas	7	Ohio	161		
Kentucky	0	Oklahoma	11		
Louisiana	10	Oregon	40		

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_ INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
 SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_ FILED \_\_\_\_\_  
 MAY 4 1962  
 FBI - NEW YORK  
 WATERS

MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS

Albany	14	Houston	3	Oklahoma City	11
Albuquerque	8	Indianapolis	52	Omaha	8
Anchorage	0	Jacksonville	6	Philadelphia	129
Atlanta	2	Kansas City	10	Phoenix	20
Baltimore	43	Knoxville	0	Pittsburgh	32
Birmingham	2	Las Vegas	0	Portland	40
Boston	104	Little Rock	0	Richmond	7
Buffalo	33	Los Angeles	640	St. Louis	35
Butte	24	Louisville	0	Salt Lake City	15
Charlotte	4	Memphis	0	San Antonio	6
Chicago	445	Miami	17	San Diego	37
Cincinnati	15	Milwaukee	113	San Francisco	312
Cleveland	146	Minneapolis	228	Savannah	1
Dallas	15	Mobile	3	Seattle	228
Denver	2	Newark	150	Springfield	2
Detroit	194	New Haven	33	Tampa	10
El Paso	5	New Orleans	10	Washington Field	7
Honolulu	2	New York	1,943	<b>Total</b>	<b>5,164</b>
		Norfolk	1		

San Juan 13



<u>DISTRICTS</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>STATES INCLUDED IN DISTRICTS</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>
Connecticut District	33	Connecticut	33
Eastern Pennsylvania & Delaware District	132	Pennsylvania (Eastern) Delaware	129 3
Illinois District	460	Illinois (Excluding East St. Louis area) Iowa (Davenport & Bettendorf only) Indiana (Lake County only)	447 9 13
Indiana District	39	Indiana (Excluding Lake County)	39
Maryland-D.C. District	47	Maryland District of Columbia	40 7
Michigan District	194	Michigan	194
Minnesota-Dakota District	228	Minnesota North Dakota South Dakota	183 19 24
Missouri District	41	Missouri Kansas (Kansas City only) Illinois (East St. Louis only)	38 3 0
Montana District	19	Montana	19
New England District	106	Vermont Maine New Hampshire Massachusetts Rhode Island	2 0 2 93 9
New Jersey District	150	New Jersey	150
New York District	1,938	New York	1,938
Northern California District	324	California (north of Kern & Santa Barbara Counties)	324
Northwest District	233	Washington Idaho Alaska	228 5 0
Ohio District	164	Ohio West Virginia (Panhandle Sec- tion)	161 3

**DISTRICTS (Continued)**

Oklahoma-Arkansas District	11	Oklahoma Arkansas	11 0
Oregon District	40	Oregon	40
Southern California District	665	California (Exclusive of counties north of Santa Barbara and Kern Counties)	665
Southern Region	87	Alabama Florida Georgia Louisiana Mississippi North Carolina South Carolina Tennessee Texas (Exclusive of the 17 western counties) Virginia	5 33 8 10 0 4 0 0 24 8
Western Pennsylvania District	22	Pennsylvania (Western)	22
Wisconsin District	113	Wisconsin	113
<u>STATES WITHOUT FORMAL CP ORGANIZATION</u>	68	Arizona Colorado Hawaii Iowa Kansas Kentucky Nebraska Nevada New Mexico Texas (17 western counties) West Virginia (exclusive of the four panhandle counties) Wyoming Utah	20 2 2 3 4 0 0 0 0 0 7 0 15
<u>Total</u>	5,164	<u>Total</u>	5,164
<u>TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS</u>	13	Puerto Rico	13

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION

	6-30-61	9-30-61	12-31-61	3-31-62
Albany	15	14	14	14
Albuquerque	5	5	5	5
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Atlanta	2	2	2	2
Baltimore	41	41	42	43
Birmingham	2	2	2	2
Boston	111	110	108	104
Buffalo	72	70	41	33
Butte	36	35	24	24
Charlotte	1	4	4	4
Chicago	440	439	440	445
Cincinnati	18	18	16	15
Cleveland	146	146	146	146
Dallas	18	18	16	15
Denver	1	1	2	2
Detroit	203	203	203	194
El Paso	5	5	5	5
Honolulu	2	2	2	2
Houston	4	4	3	3
Indianapolis	66	66	54	52
Jacksonville	6	6	6	6
Kansas City	10	10	10	10
Knoxville	0	0	0	0
Las Vegas	0	0	0	0
Little Rock	0	0	0	0
Los Angeles	635	640	640	640
Louisville	0	0	0	0
Memphis	0	0	0	0
Miami	20	20	17	17
Milwaukee	120	116	113	113
Minneapolis	225	227	229	228
Mobile	3	3	2	3
Newark	155	155	150	150
New Haven	33	33	33	33
New Orleans	11	11	10	10
New York	1,921	1,924	1,922	1,943
Norfolk	2	2	1	1
Oklahoma City	12	12	11	11
Osaka	9	8	8	8
Philadelphia	135	133	129	129
Phoenix	20	20	20	20
Pittsburgh	38	35	34	32
Portland	43	43	43	40
Richmond	7	7	7	7
St. Louis	46	44	44	35
Salt Lake City	18	16	15	15
San Antonio	8	8	7	6

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES IN FIELD DIVISION

	6-30-61	9-30-61	12-31-61	3-31-62
San Diego	37	39	39	37
San Francisco	307	310	305	312
Savannah	1	1	1	1
Seattle	235	233	228	228
Springfield	3	2	2	2
Tampa	10	10	10	10
Washington Field	7	7	7	7
<hr/>				
TOTALS	5,262	5,260	5,173	5,164
San Juan	13	13	13	13

Date 5-3-62

TO SAC:

(Copies to Offices Checked)

- |                                      |                                       |   |   |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Albany      | <input type="checkbox"/> Honolulu     | <input type="checkbox"/> New Orleans              | <input type="checkbox"/> Seattle          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Albuquerque | <input type="checkbox"/> Houston      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New York City | <input type="checkbox"/> Springfield      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Anchorage   | <input type="checkbox"/> Indianapolis | <input type="checkbox"/> Norfolk                  | <input type="checkbox"/> Tampa            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Atlanta     | <input type="checkbox"/> Jacksonville | <input type="checkbox"/> Oklahoma City            | <input type="checkbox"/> Washington Field |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Baltimore   | <input type="checkbox"/> Kansas City  | <input type="checkbox"/> Omaha                    | <input type="checkbox"/> Quantico         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Birmingham  | <input type="checkbox"/> Knoxville    | <input type="checkbox"/> Philadelphia             |   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Boston      | <input type="checkbox"/> Las Vegas    | <input type="checkbox"/> Phoenix                  | <b>TO LEGAT:</b>                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Buffalo     | <input type="checkbox"/> Little Rock  | <input type="checkbox"/> Pittsburgh               | <input type="checkbox"/> Bern             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Butte       | <input type="checkbox"/> Los Angeles  | <input type="checkbox"/> Portland                 | <input type="checkbox"/> Bonn             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Charlotte   | <input type="checkbox"/> Louisville   | <input type="checkbox"/> Richmond                 | <input type="checkbox"/> London           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chicago     | <input type="checkbox"/> Memphis      | <input type="checkbox"/> St. Louis                | <input type="checkbox"/> Madrid           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cincinnati  | <input type="checkbox"/> Miami        | <input type="checkbox"/> Salt Lake City           | <input type="checkbox"/> Manila           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cleveland   | <input type="checkbox"/> Milwaukee    | <input type="checkbox"/> San Antonio              | <input type="checkbox"/> Mexico D. F.     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dallas      | <input type="checkbox"/> Minneapolis  | <input type="checkbox"/> San Diego                | <input type="checkbox"/> Ottawa           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Denver      | <input type="checkbox"/> Mobile       | <input type="checkbox"/> San Francisco            | <input type="checkbox"/> Paris            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Detroit     | <input type="checkbox"/> Newark       | <input type="checkbox"/> San Juan                 | <input type="checkbox"/> Rome             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> El Paso     | <input type="checkbox"/> New Haven    | <input type="checkbox"/> Savannah                 | <input type="checkbox"/> Rio de Janeiro   |
|                                      |                                       |   | <input type="checkbox"/> Tokyo            |

RE: **COMMUNIST PARTY, USA**  
**MEMBERSHIP**  
**IS-C**

- For information     For appropriate action     Surep, by \_\_\_\_\_
- The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report,  conceal all sources,  paraphrase contents.
- Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA \_\_\_\_\_ dated \_\_\_\_\_.

REMARKS:

100-80638-1934

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 1962	
FBI - NEW YORK	
<i>T. WATER</i>	

- 1** Enclosure(s)  
Bufile  
Urfile

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-84994)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-17517)  
SUBJECT: GUS HALL  
IS - C; ISA OF 1950

DATE: 5-11-62

EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE.

The information appearing on the attached pages was orally furnished on May 7, 1962, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information was reduced to writing on May 7, 1962, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A)134-46-7478.

9 - New York (RM)

- (1 - 100- [redacted])
- (1 - 100-8529 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-80638 CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
- (1 - 100-80641 CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
- (1 - 100-80644 CP, USA - YOUTH)
- (1 - 100- PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF PARTY LEADERS)
- (1 - 100-102320 U. S. vs. CP, USA)

20 - Chicago

- (1 - A)134-46-7478)
- (1 - 100-34730 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-12459 FLO HALL)
- (1 - 100-2748 SAM KUSENER)
- (1 - 100- [redacted])
- (1 - 61-867 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- (1 - 100-30108 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-26499 [redacted])

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b7c


Copies continued on ii page  
RWH:Plb

100-80638-1935  
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FBI - NEW YORK  
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415

CG 100-17517

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(1 - 100-20576	
(1 - 100-3338	
(1 - 100-21257	
(1 - 100-7894	
(1 - 100-19491	
(1 - 100-18952	CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
(1 - 100-18953	CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - MEMBERSHIP)
(1 - 100-18957	CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
(1 - 100-38841	CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - YOUTH)
(1 - 100-38809	PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF PARTY LEADERS)
(1 - 100-	U.S. vs. CP, USA)
	ATTACKS AGAINST THE FBI)

RWH:Plb  
(29)

May 7, 1962

b6  
b7c

On Sunday evening, May 6, 1962, GUS HALL appeared at Mandel Hall, University of Chicago, as an invited guest of the University of Chicago student governing body. Approximately 1,000 people filled Mandel Hall to capacity and it is estimated that 95 per cent of those present were college students or university faculty members. Among those members of the CP known to have been present at this affair were:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[REDACTED]  
SAM KUSHNER  
ELO HALL

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] chaired the meeting and in addition acted as opposition speaker to GUS HALL.

HALL, who identified himself as a spokesman of the CP, USA, was first speaker and was given about 45 minutes which he devoted almost entirely to an attack against the McCarran Act which he criticized as a Fascist and unjust piece of legislation.

[REDACTED] followed HALL and spoke for only a period of ten to fifteen minutes. In his remarks, he noted that he was not nearly as pessimistic as HALL had been in regard to the overall effect of the McCarran Act and that contrary to any statement of HALL, he felt that the Russians would never be able to overtake the productive capacity of the United States.

While the audience at the affair was attentive and there was little or no heckling involved at any stage, the biggest and most enthusiastic response to either of the speakers was that given to [REDACTED]. This was so even though [REDACTED] spoke for a comparatively brief period of time and, in fact, made a comparatively poor presentation.



After the meeting at Mandel Hall had adjourned at approximately 10:30 p.m., it was learned that HALL was invited to an informal get-together at [redacted]. This informal gathering had been arranged for by [redacted] of New York City, a CP attorney. The meeting place was the residence of [redacted]. At the meeting, a total of approximately 50 to 60 youths were possibly in attendance which included [redacted].

During some of HALL's informal remarks made at this time, he criticized J. EDGAR HOOVER, head of the FBI, by belittling the inclusion of Mr. HOOVER's name beside those of great Americans like JEFFERSON and ADAMS in connection with courses being taught today in our public schools.

HALL also was heard to comment that it was becoming extremely hard today for anyone to be a Communist; however, if there was anyone who desired to lead anything but a dull life, he would recommend being a Communist as a good one.

HALL then casually remarked to those present that the CP was setting up a youth division and would be recruiting youth and in this regard, however, they could rest assured that the Party would never disclose the names of any such youth who might come into the movement, under any conditions. He then noted that he had all but invited those present to join the CP and he was sure that if any of those present desired to join the CP they could find some way of getting in.

When it was learned that this informal gathering was about to conclude, HALL had made arrangements for [redacted] to take him by auto to the Sherman Hotel where he was then staying.

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-84935)  
FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-31822)  
SUBJECT: COMINFIL RAILROAD INDUSTRY  
IS - C

DATE: 5/18/62

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Date received <b>4/19/62</b>	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past.	Received by SA [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person     by telephone     by mail     orally     recording device     written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Transcribed \_\_\_\_\_

Authenticated by Informant \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Report

**4/19/62**

Date(s) of activity

**4/17/62**

Brief description of activity or material

[redacted]

File where original is located if not attached

[redacted]

Remarks:

- 1 - New York (RM)
- 1 - 100-83193 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-56570 (PHIL BART)
- 1 - 100- ("Progressive Labor")
- 1 - 100-109560 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-87211 (CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)
- 1 - 100-128821 (CP, NYD, FACTIONALISM)
- 1 - 100-128813 (CP, NYD, PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
- 1 - 100-128809 (CP, NYD, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- 1 - 100-128817 (CP, NYD, MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - 100-80638 (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - 100-89590 (CP, USA, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- 1 - 100-132430 (CP, NYD, INDUSTRIAL DIVISION)
- 1 - 100-132491 (CP, NYD, RAILROAD REGION)
- 1 - Pittsburgh (100- ) (FNU, LNU, BROTHER OF

- 3 - Newark
- 1 - 100-35539 [redacted]

onc:eng  
(10)  
18

Block Stamp

BERNIE KRANS DORF (Info) (RM)

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_ INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_ FILED \_\_\_\_\_

MAY 21 1962

FBI - NEW YORK

WATERS, J. [signature]

J.V. Waters  
[signature]

415 100-80638-1936

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NK 100-31822

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EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING  
INFORMATION TO PRECLUDE COMPROMISING THE INFORMANT.

April 19, 1962

In a conversation with [redacted] he mentioned that he had been contacted last Tuesday morning (April 17, 1962) by [redacted] from New York City and [redacted] had told [redacted] that the New York COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) Railroad Club had a meeting last Thursday and another meeting is scheduled for Thursday, April 26, 1962.

Also, [redacted] told him, it seems the whole New York CP Railroad Club was expelled from the CP. [redacted] had contacted PHIL BART of the CP National Office and asked BART to get [redacted] back in the CP. [redacted] said that BART called [redacted] and during the discussion BART told [redacted] that if he was not in the CP, then he was against it. [redacted] is supposed to have told BART that the expelled railroad members are not anti-Party; but they just don't want to discuss the matter any further, feeling that what has been done, is done, and talking will not help. [redacted] that "Progressive Labor" is still being published and the former members of the Railroad Club are still doing a job in the railroad industry and are meeting about once every three weeks. [redacted] also said that not much is happening in the railroad industry at the present, from a standpoint of anticipated strikes, wage discussions, etc.

[redacted] mentioned that [redacted] would be married on May 1, and [redacted] had bought a used car, a 1953 Plymouth or Pontiac. [redacted] suggested that [redacted] keep his CP ties in New Jersey.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

DATE: 5-18-62

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement dated May 14-16, 1962, containing information orally furnished on May 14, 1962, to SAs CARL N. FREYMAN and RICHARD W. HANSEN and on May 15 and 16, 1962, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past. This information was reduced to writing on May 17, 1962, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A)134-46-7505.

2-Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)

3-Baltimore (RM)

(1 - 100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS)

(1 - 100- CP, MARYLAND DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)

(1 - 100- CP, MARYLAND DISTRICT - YOUTH)

3-Cleveland (RM)

(1 - 65-721 ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)

(1 - 100-17257 CP, OHIO DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)

(1 - 100- CP, OHIO DISTRICT - YOUTH)

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RWH:Plb

*100-8638-1937*  
*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*  
*413*

CG 100-33741

Copies

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- 5 - Detroit (RM)  
    (1 - 100-8482 [REDACTED])  
    (1 - 100-13740 HELEN WINTER)  
    (1 - 100-2050 CP, MICHIGAN DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)  
    (1 - 100- CP, MICHIGAN DISTRICT - YOUTH)  
    (1 - 100-30141 "LABOR TODAY")
- 3 - Newark (RM)  
    (1 - 100-2974 PATRICK TOOHEY)  
    (1 - 100- CP, NEW JERSEY DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)  
    (1 - 100- CP, NEW JERSEY DISTRICT - YOUTH)
- 3 - Los Angeles (RM)  
    (1 - 100-4486 DOROTHY HEALEY)  
    (1 - 100-26044 CP, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)  
    (1 - 100- CP, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT - YOUTH)
- 42- New York (RM)  
    (1 - 100-80532 HERBERT APTHEKER)  
    (1 - 100-56579 PHIL BART)  
    (1 - 100-23825 BENJAMIN DAVIS Jr.)  
    (1 - 100-13483 BETTY GANNETT)  
    (1 - 100-84994 GUS HALL)  
    (1 - 100-16785 JAMES JACKSON)  
    (1 - 100-16021 ARNOLD JOHNSON)  
    (1 - 100- JAMES LUSTIG)  
    (1 - 100-135736 [REDACTED])  
    (1 - 100-84275 WILLIAM PATTERSON)  
    (1 - 100-48033 IRVING POTASH)  
    (1 - 100-128255 [REDACTED])  
    (1 - 100-27452 ROBERT THOMPSON)  
    (1 - 100-15946 JAMES TORMEY)  
    (1 - 100-21421 ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG)

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CG 100-33741

Copies

(1 - 100-26018 LOUIS WEINSTOCK)  
(1 - 100-9595 WILLIAM WEINSTONE)  
(1 - 100- CP, USA - BRIEF)  
(1 - 100-89691 CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)  
(1 - 100-80633 CP, USA - EDUCATION)  
(1 - 100-87211 CP, USA - FACTIONALISM)  
(1 - 100-74560 CP, USA - FUNDS)  
(1 - 100-86624 CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)  
✓(1 - 100-80638 CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)  
(1 - 100-80640 CP, USA - NEGRO QUESTION)  
(1 - 100-80641 CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)  
(1 - 100-81675 CP, USA - PAMPHLETS AND  
PUBLICATIONS)  
(1 - 100-89590 CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)  
(1 - 100-80644 CP, USA - YOUTH)  
(1 - 100-102320 US vs. CP, USA)  
(1 - 100- COMINFIL MASS ORGANIZATIONS)  
(1 - 100- NATIONAL STUDENT UNION)  
(1 - 97-169 PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)  
(1 - 100- GUS HALL-BEN DAVIS DEFENSE COMMITTEE)  
(1 - 100- "I. F. STONE WEEKLY")  
(1 - 100-93572 "NATIONAL GUARDIAN")  
(1 - 100- "MONTHLY REVIEW")  
(1 - 100- "LABOR TODAY")  
(1 - 100- TURN TOWARD PEACE YOUTH COUNCILS)  
(1 - 100- PYOC)  
(1 - 100- "NEW HORIZONS FOR YOUTH")  
(1 - 100- YPSL)  
4 - Philadelphia (RM)  
(1 - 100- )  
(1 - 65-1686 THOMAS NABRIED)  
(1 - 100- CP, EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA  
DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)  
(1 - 100- CP, EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA  
DISTRICT - YOUTH)

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CG 100-33741

Copies

- 6 - San Francisco (RM)
  - (1 - 65-1242 MICKEY LIMA)
  - (1 - 100-27747 CP, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
  - (1 - 100- CP, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT - YOUTH)
  - (1 - 100- SLATE)
  - (1 - 100- EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)
  - (1 - 100- THE U. S. FESTIVAL COMMITTEE)
- 4 - Chicago
  - (1 - A)134-46-7505)
  - (1 - 100-18953 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
  - (1 - 100-18957 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - YOUTH)

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(75)

May 14-16, 1962

During the period of May 10-13, 1962, a four day enlarged meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and invited guests was held at the National Headquarters of the CP, USA, in New York City. The last day's session which was held on May 13, 1962, was chaired by ROBERT THOMPSON.

The following individuals were present:

GUS HALL  
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS Jr.  
JAMES JACKSON  
IRVING POTASH  
ANTHONY KRCHNAREK

[REDACTED]  
DOROTHY HEALEY  
MICKEY LIMA  
GEORGE MEYERS  
MORRIS CHILDS  
HELEN WINTER  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
JAMES TORNEY  
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG  
BETTY GANNETT  
PATRICK TOONEY  
WILLIAM PATTERSON  
THOMAS NABRIED

[REDACTED]  
PHIL BART  
JAMES LUSTIG  
HERBERT APTHEKER  
WILLIAM WEINSTONE  
LOUIS WEINSTOCK

[REDACTED] present for the youth report only  
[REDACTED] present for the youth report only

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This session was opened with a main report on youth matters presented by [REDACTED]. The essence of [REDACTED] remarks is set forth below.



One of the most central features of political reality today in our country is the mass dissatisfaction of its young generation with the old conditions and morality. Enormous numbers of youth are acting and searching for new paths forward for our country along democratic, radical and often socialist lines.

This is the generation bred in the new epoch of mankind - the period of socialism's and communism's continued triumphs and imperialism's disintegration. This generation grows up a product of the new epoch, yet living in the stronghold of the old imperialism.

Any serious political force in our country must base itself on the younger elements in the population who are such an activating force today. So much more so is this true of the Party of the youth - the Communist Party. It bases itself on the future of the class and of society, on the long term interests of workers and mankind. It is the Party of the activists and militants, those with the highest morality and self-sacrifice. Its program represents the present and future interests of youth. Fundamental to changing the situation of the Communist Party in our country is the making of youth a major concentration of the whole Party and bringing into our ranks considerable numbers of youth to infuse new blood into the veins of the Party. Every department and field of work, every Party organization should, therefore, place major stress on youth questions.

The ultra-right understands that "he who has the youth, has the future" is even more true today than ever. That is why it has tried to counter the rapidly growing democratic youth movement with its own youth creations, lavishly financed. Their attempts to indoctrinate youth through the military, public schools, etc. pose a severe threat. They attempt to win youth by claiming there is a conservative band-wagon to jump on. But recognizing it's only a reactionary pro-monopoly organ-grinder on the wagon, most youth avoid being made into monkeys whose tune is called. Some youth, however, dissatisfied with conditions as they are have been sucked in by the ultra, at least temporarily.

The Kennedy Administration parades its old ideas and outlook in youthful clothing in an attempt to win the younger people. Because of its skill and a certain degree of responsiveness to pressure from youth and other progressive sections of the population, many youth are misled into viewing the Administration as theirs. Yet they are acting and searching for a better life.

There is a completely new situation among American youth today. The turning point came with the launching of the sit-ins in February, 1960. Before that there were probings and even highly significant single actions like the School Integration Youth Marches but no consistent movement by youth for their democratic needs. Now we have wave on wave of activity aimed at putting America's practice in line with its stated principles. An end to testing, disarmament, peace, end all colonialism, hands off Cuba, full equality now, academic freedom, abolish HUAC are its battle cries. This movement proceeds very unevenly, through many loose-knit organizational forms. There are rapid ups and downs on various issues. A lack of clarity exists on who the enemy is and who are potential allies. Class concepts are confused. Many illusions about the Kennedy Administration and much misinformation about the Communists still exist. As yet there is little motion on job problems of youth, though there is great restiveness. It is primarily a college student movement, though many high school students and other sections of Negro youth are involved. But it is an immensely important movement of several hundred thousand active youth, tacitly supported by many times that number.

This is a period of organizational flux. Old organizations are changing their character radically or losing their stature among youth. New groups are coming into being. New combinations of forces are taking place. Generally, there is a tendency toward uniting all groups working in a given field of struggle and a tendency to see the interconnection of issues and to relate them. But this state of extreme flux is not over by any means. The resulting organizational forms, programs, ideologies are far from gelling.

Within the growth of democratic youth activity has been an increasingly strong and influential left current. It is itself extremely diverse and unsettled. What it has in common is a radical dissatisfaction with conditions as they are and a growing belief that the social system is at fault and needs radical overhauling. It is searching for big answers and looks in a socialist direction for them. Some come from left progressive homes. Others, as a result of militant activity, have newly become left. A host of probing but unclear left publications have come into existence. Students for Democratic Society, Young Peoples Socialist League and even the Trotskyites have benefited from healthy new young people probing for answers. New Horizons for Youth and local Marxist-oriented groups loosely associated with the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee (PYOC) are growing slowly. The influence and size of the Party among

youth have grown to some extent. Now, nearly all students consider the CP a legitimate and necessary participant in the great debate on communism and our country's objectives. Why have youth come into motion? Two factors seem most important. The first is the continued aggravation and deterioration of the conditions of life of youth. The other is the growing realization that there are alternatives that can be won. Here the example of struggles throughout the world for peace, democracy, freedom, economic security and socialism have been crucial. The morality gap between what is, what our country's stated principles are and what is possible becomes a gigantic motivating force. Let us consider now some of the aspects of the conditions in which nearly all youth live.

During the last several years the conditions of life experienced by a majority of youth have continued to deteriorate. A sharpening of international tensions around Berlin, etc. affected youth in many ways, including increased military call-ups. American young men are now dying in South Viet Nam in one of the most vicious imperialist wars of all time.

Unemployment among youth has been more than double the national rate for some years now. One to two million youth have been steadily out of work with future prospects much worse. Youth still in industries have faced many problems of job security, upgrading, etc. that practically place them in a situation of second class citizenship. Instead of expanding apprenticeship and job training programs providing the skills needed for automation, each year these programs decline. Nor can youth fill their educational needs in the public schools. Class room shortages of 135,000 rooms lead to overcrowding and double shifts. Many schools are so dilapidated and their equipment outmoded, with vermin running wild, that they need to be condemned. Teachers' salaries are dreadfully inadequate. Of course, this situation is much worse in working class, Negro and Puerto Rican communities. Into these social conditions add up to what James Conant called "social dynamite" in our cities. Together with extremely poor housing, woefully inadequate health, recreation, social and cultural programs, the conditions are present that guarantee continued growth of demoralization and delinquency among youth. One reason why delinquency has not taken a much greater toll is the rise of the youth movement struggling for better conditions. It gives youth direction, hope and inspiration of a socially beneficial nature.

Despite heroic efforts and some significant victories, conditions of Negro youth have remained substantially the same. Their job situation, however, has considerably deteriorated with as many as 75% of Negro youth out of work in some cities. School

desegregation, South and North, continues at a snail's pace, with most American youth learning in an anti-democratic, segregated atmosphere.

Renewed efforts have been made by ultra-right and Government forces to clamp the lid on youthful questioning and activity. Activities of HUAC, the attempted barring of Communists from speaking on campuses, the McCarran Act threats to youth and others are part of this.

An adequate program to meet the needs of youth includes the major demands of our time, plus a number of specific youth requirements. 1. Peaceful coexistence, general and complete disarmament, an end to all forms of colonialism. Hands off Cuba! Reduce and completely and compulsory military service. An end to militarization of colleges and universities. An end to anti-democratic indoctrination in the armed forces. Build an anti-imperialist rather than pro-imperialist Peace Corps and send a Freedom Corps to the South.

2. Full equality now for the Negro people in voting, jobs, job training, education, service in public facilities, housing, etc. Strong governmental action to enforce this. Truthful teaching of the historic and cultural contributions of the Negro people in our school system. All this applies also to Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Indians and other national minorities.

3. Federal, state and local public works jobs, job training and apprentice programs for a million youth. Add 200,000 apprentices to the roles and train additional hundreds of thousands for jobs with a future. Pass an improved youth conservation corps act. Assure upgrading and job security for youth in industry. Pass unemployment compensation for first job seekers and state minimum wages. Reduce the work week without loss in pay and raise the minimum wage. This entire program must be carried out under trade union conditions, without displacing older workers, without any form of discrimination and under the control of labor, youth, Negro and social work groups.

4. Provide federal funds for school construction, teacher's salaries, etc. at all levels of education. Provide federal scholarships for some 200,000 or more students a year who are unable to go to college for financial reasons. Remove all anti-communist clauses and practices from such federal and state programs.

5. Provide a democratic atmosphere for youth to learn and grow up in. Abolish HUAC. Repeal and refuse to apply the McCarran Act, Smith Act and similar legislation. Guarantee academic freedom to students and professors.

6. Provide physical fitness for youth through a program of free health services and expanded recreational programs, not by military drill.

7. Provide substantial funds for healthy social and cultural activities for youth.

Such a program can only be won by an extremely high level of militant and united effort of young people and by significant support from labor and other people's forces. The giant monopolists won't easily concede such improvements for the lives of young people. Only by rejecting red-baiting and other forms of division will youth be able to build the needed unity.

The building of firm Negro-white youth unity is required if such efforts are to be crowned with major success. Significant advances have been achieved in the understanding by white youth of the immorality of white chauvinism and racism and of their own self-interest in eradicating even its subtle expressions. White participation in the Freedom Rides illustrates this. However, understanding by white youth of the centrality of the struggle for full equality to the fight for American democracy still lags behind the requirements.

The sharpest threat to the needs of youth comes from the ultra-right representatives of monopoly interests. In this situation, unity of the widest sections of youth for their daily democratic needs and against the ultra-right becomes even more critical. And rejection of red-baiting becomes crucial because it is the chief splitting weapon in the hands of the ultras. Youth can be a vital force, alongside labor in rebuffing the ultra-right and the tendency of other monopoly representatives like the Kennedy Administration to move to the right and thereby strengthen the extreme right.

There is every reason to believe the democratic student movement will continue to grow and the number of those radically dissatisfied with capitalism will grow. This latter group will look in the direction of socialism for answers.

Attempts by the ultra-right and others to crush out their rebellion are met with fighting, democratic anger. At the same time, these students often reflect the anti-communist prejudices they were brought up with, falsely believing that Communists are enemies of democracy and freedom. As a result they move to the left through tortuous channels. Their understanding of the working class, in the absence of a highly active working class movement, is especially weak. Unless the Communists work well and are immediately present, these youth will shop around among various left-wing or seemingly left-wing groups. With initiative by us their long-term direction is clear.

There will be ups and downs in organizations and movements within a general upswing. For a while one issue will come to the fore and then another. It is apparent, however, that the most important issue of our time, peace, has won so many active adherents that it will be the main long term focus of activity. Negro rights will remain a cause close to the hearts of students. Academic freedom will be defended against all assaults and particularly the right of students to hear communists. The tendency to combine and coordinate organizations and activities and to reject red-baiting will probably grow.

Negro young people, students and others, have been active at a high pitch for some time. White youth support is increasing rapidly. These trends are likely to intensify, become more political in their orientation and produce more Negro young people who will move toward socialism and Marxism-Leninism, sometimes through militant nationalist paths.

Working youth, Negro and white, faced with tremendous job problems are looking for a way out. No one as yet has offered them a realistic program but there are important new actions that show mass action here is possible and not far off. The initiative for such activity can and should come from the Communists. Communists must be active in the organizations of working class youth, help create new groups where needed, project a program and pay special attention to the needs of young trade unionists.

So long as the student movement remains at such a high level and working youth are relatively inactive, work among students will be of unusual importance. It can become a lever to help speed large scale action among those who will become the leaders of the youth - the working youth.

The Communists have important ideological contributions to make in each field of youth struggle. Particularly in the peace movement, the full equality movement and among left youth is there a groping for long term perspective and ideology.

We also can and should project ideas for youth unity actions and mass unity developments. In the peace field, for instance, a national student peace strike is possible. The building of Turn Toward Peace Youth Councils on our initiative can help assure that the third camp philosophy is not dominant and that special approaches are made to working class youth in Y's, churches and trade unions to participate in the peace movement. It is now within reach that major U.S. youth groups will respond favorably to Festivals, Forums and other international youth approaches.

Another Youth March to Washington pressing for Federal action, 2nd Emancipation Proclamation, etc. is definitely feasible as is a national planning conference of all youth groups interested in the struggle for full equality.

Many initiatives, ranging from VIP youth statements to mass petitions are possible and needed in the fight against the McCarran Act.

We should encourage the building of the student political party movement and strengthening of its national ties. In local areas or on individual campuses it is possible to build councils of active democratic youth groups. There are already examples of this kind.

If launched from the proper quarters, a U.S. Assembly of Youth to take stock of the conditions facing youth and to outlining a program to meet youth's needs is possible. It could include all the active youth forces and groups, at a minimum.

Summertime is a period for studying, discussing and planning for the coming school year. Many organizations like the American Friends Service Committee, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Student Christian Leadership Conference conduct such programs. Even more are needed. It is also a period of Conventions of major youth organizations. It has become a period of action in the South participated in by Northern youth. This Summer it will be around voter registration. There is a need for left and Party youth to participate actively in all these activities and initiate similar ones.

Most of these mass unity initiatives have been previously outlined. Seldom though have we been able to muster our full strength to push for them. Now they can and should be taken seriously and concretely implemented because with our full influence brought to bear every one of them can be achieved.

Our Party must fully reflect the decisiveness of the youth for the future of our Party and cause this means a new direction for much of our activity and resources. It means much greater understanding of the character of the young generation, its positive and weak sides. Without that, forms of assistance will miss the mark and be rebuffed. Above all, it means recognition that assistance must come within the framework of a maximum of independence and room for youth initiative.

There is much every Party body can do. An adult community club should be in touch with community youth groups. It should take up their interests with community adult groups. These include job problems, opening schools at night for recreation, job training, etc., providing recreational facilities and programs, decent schools, opposing police brutality toward youth, etc. A community club should seek ways of helping in the building of left youth organizations and winning youth to the Party by developing advanced youth contacts, referring them to Party youth, passing on Party and left youth literature and periodicals, helping in raising money to support such activities.

Shops and industrial clubs should pay special attention to younger workers and their organizations like industrial sports teams. They, the workers, and their organizations like industrial sports teams, apprentice clubs, etc. They should take up their demands for job security, on-the-job training and upgrading, push the union to open its halls for community youth activities and support legislation programs of benefit to youth. More advanced youth contacts should be cultivated as by community clubs. Many other forms of youth concentration for adult clubs can be found. Every statement and action of the Party should reflect the highest level of youth consciousness.

The ability of the Party to carry out mass youth tasks, influence the mass democratic movement, aid in the building of non-Party Marxist oriented and other left organizational forms depends on the size and quality of the Party youth base. This base is quite small compared to the tasks and possibilities growing out of mass developments. A vigorous recruiting drive for 250 new members by December 1 is needed and possible. Bolder, youth standards in recruiting will be necessary. The building of complete youth clubs and sections with all youth



coming into youth clubs will also be necessary for success. A strong educational and cadre training program will be needed to consolidate and develop these youth.

Another extraordinary organization form is necessary for this immediate period in order to give the proper emphasis, push and scope to youth work - that is the establishment of a Youth Division of the Communist Party. Its value will be in demonstrating to the Party and in broader circles the concern of the Party for youth and our insistence on the need to make a big change in Party work among youth. It will permit a much more effective public voice for the Party among youth, aid in defense work in this area and help give the kind of leadership that is required by a mass youth movement that is highly independent of adults and relatively close-knit and united. It is not our intention to establish, in any sense, a separate Party or additional organizational structures than already outlined.

A number of steps aimed at increasing the public voice of the Party reaching youth are recommended that can be extremely helpful in Party building:

1. A Party Youth Division
2. A Party Youth Spokesman
3. A monthly newspaper, Communism and Youth or similar name
4. A Party Youth Program
5. A Party Youth recruiting brochure

We urge renewed vigor in the building of a Marxist-oriented, non-Party youth organization and urge strong support for all such efforts and for publications of this type. It is clear, however, that in a fluid situation of movement to the left, premature jelling of organizational forms would limit the possibilities. A number of transitional forms, especially among students and Negro youth will probably emerge. Some will have fuzzy socialist perspectives, others will be radical, pro-peace and democracy and anti-imperialist and anti-fascist, concerned with political action, etc. but not socialist. With time many of these forms will congeal and draw together with already Marxist-oriented youth on an advanced basis.

In the building of non-Party Marxist-oriented organization, a great variety of forms are emerging loosely related to the PYOC. The situation varies a great deal from the biggest metropolitan centers where there is a large progressive community to the smaller centers, many industrial centers and places where

the ultra-right is quite strong. In the larger centers, public Marxist-oriented groups are possible and necessary. Here there are youth dissatisfied with lesser commitment and shopping among various left or seemingly left groups. In this situation, there must be present real alternatives, but on the basis of truly independent youth organizations, not communist youth organizations. Great effort must be expended by such groups in learning how to develop united front relations and yet maintain an independent existence.

In the smaller areas, we need to start by involving the whole Party in building forms that will produce a Party youth club in the shortest order. Also in these areas we need to help progressive youth build left forms that are legal, that can function publicly, even if they are not Marxist-oriented. More advanced public forms will come later. But the central aim here must be to build a Party group as fast as possible.

In the student field we should encourage the drawing together of the independent campus socialist clubs. We should also have a positive attitude of encouragement and influence on groups of Negro intellectuals with strong nationalist leanings who form groups that easily become interested in socialism and Marxism.

In a number of cities we need to take initiative with other forces to unite left-moving youth who are not prepared to join Marxist-oriented groups. A variety of organizational forms will undoubtedly emerge here. Many youth feel the democratic mass organizations do not go far enough in seeing the interconnection of issues. Yet they are not at all sure of socialism and do not wish to join a group even if it only "examines socialism" when such groups are more immediately threatened by the McCarran Act. A group that is left, advance on all issues of the day, concerned with political action, anti-imperialist etc. or containing some of these features may be the answer in a given area.

These left unity and bridge organizations should not be viewed as an alternative to building Marxist-oriented youth groups, but as an aid.

Communists have the task of furthering Marxism-Leninism among the youth, contributing to the unity of left youth and in so doing strengthening the unity of youth in action for democratic needs and against the ultra-right.

On conclusion of [ ] remarks, there was a general discussion in which a number of individuals participated. The identities of such individuals are set forth below and where pertinent remarks were made, the essence is set forth.

[ ]  
BEN DAVIS

Can we get speakers into Negro colleges and is there interest?

[ ]  
Yes, there is interest.

JAMES JACKSON

[ ] report registers progress on the part of the Party in the youth field. Today youth has its patron in the Party and in GUS. The need now is to develop a personality of youth in spoken and written word.

HELEN WINTER

MICKEY LIMA

DANNY's report substantiates experiences in San Francisco. The SLATE organization achieved its highest vote in the last election despite attacks upon it by HCUA authorities. A person who had declared himself as a Marxist was elected. Thirty per cent of those who attended the May Day meeting in San Francisco were students. Three hundred students have applied to go to the Festival. Forty students met with GUS HALL which was good.

[ ]  
[ ] is correct that we can build the CP among youth. Seventy-five to 100 recruits are possible in New York. There has been a successful fight against the speaker ban.

In campus elections, there has been a trend in the progressive direction, for example, Queens College has gone for the National Student Union, and the Chairman of the Marxist Club ran third in this reactionary college.

DOROTHY HEALEY

I still see reluctance on the part of the youth in identifying themselves with us. What about bourgeoisie mass organizations? In the old days, they supplied forces for progressive actions.

GUS HALL

So many positive things have been said about youth work that a few remarks are needed to point out the negative. One central weakness is represented in the youth cadre. It is stuffy, starting with [ ] Also it is too timid, perhaps because it is new. They need boldness and must overcome narrowness. Keep in mind the path that the youth work has traveled during the past year or two. It was a struggle against wrong ideas. Until the approach and program of call groups was rejected, we held up. There are some remnants of this in Los Angeles. Until these ideas are rejected, we cannot build the CP among youth.

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Youth cadre has to learn how to work on two levels, namely, one - socialism-Marxism, and two - united front with broad mass organizations and movements. We must help the youth cadre to learn this.

If we can help the youth cadre undo their timidity, they can tackle the anti-militant sentiment. What happened in the Army reserve in camps recently was almost a "revolt". Wives picketed and the soldiers held mass meetings out of uniform on their days off. We did not sense this at the time and failed to take advantage of this.

Another weakness has been the failure not to recognize that some youth were moving to the CP and Marxism.

This is a major weakness in some districts. In Illinois they resisted youth development and only now are catching up. For six months, they talked in abstractions about the need for "concentrating on working class youth". They missed up to now the upsurge amongst the youth. DOROTHY now misses this fact that a break through is possible.

HERBERT APTHEKER

Some new things are present. There are a number of youths who have become politically alive and radicalized. The depth of radicalization has increased. There is greater interest in Marxism than a few years ago, and a greater unity than in the past amongst the youth. Interest is in what to do and how to do it rather than in sectarian issues.

There has been a lessening of the vile red-baiting and also a great interest in the McCarran Act on the part of youth. Developments among the faculties of colleges and universities is very new especially among the younger faculty members of ages 28 to 30. The production in writing will show itself in the next few years.

Schools for Marxists are growing. The youth wants  to remember that kids in school are students, that is their work. Marxism has to perform a special service to students as students. This should permeate our approach to students.

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b7c

The Party needs proficient scholars and campuses need teachers most and that is what the students want. There are opportunities amongst the young faculties. HORWITZ' book called "Students" is a good book and should be studied.

Market for literature unlimited and we can circulate Marxist literature among colleges and universities.

IRVING POTASH

BETTY GANNETT

We must change our concept of youth today and need a different standard for the youth of today and must help them and not judge them like post-war youth.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE

BEN DAVIS

[ ] report was good. I agree with GUS about militancy. In Minnesota, I addressed 7,000 students while [ ] from Buckley's "National Review" addressed 150. The students there united around anti-Communism and are militant.

WILLIAM PATTERSON

The United States in connections abroad makes contacts with Fascists. The youth does not accept this.

ARNOLD JOHNSON

The youth are active and looking for things that did not exist in the 50s.

BOB THOMPSON

I agree with [ ] report. It was a collective report. WILLIAM WEINSTONE is too rigid about students and on youth.

[ ] spoke in conclusion.

I agree with the characterization of GUS on weaknesses. I cannot convince DOROTHY that some youth are ready for organization and the Party. I hope that the districts will tackle youth and assign its best people.

[ ] At this point the motion was made and approved that report on youth be adopted.

At this session, PHIL BART delivered the report on "Problems of Organization and the Building of the Communist Party." The essence of his remarks is as follows:

It has now been one year since the Supreme Court decision on the McCarran Act. Last year, some people wanted us to dissolve the Party, but now we are here discussing how to build the Party.

At a recent meeting, GUS HALL talked to us about the political climate under which we now work. There have been indictments of the Party and of GUS and BEN DAVIS. Other harassments still continue. Our legality is being curbed constantly, but we have to learn how to work under these circumstances. We must draw from all of our experiences so that we can continue working under such new conditions.

These experiences were discussed at a meeting a few months ago in Detroit. At that time it was noted there is ferment in the country and that the Communist Party is participating in these struggles as never before. There is a growing demand that "Communists" be heard and this demand goes beyond the universities. We have been able to involve a large segment of our Party in this type of activity. But what really is necessary to carry on such activity is to get the individuals in everyday life, even if not always public, to be our speakers.

Now, in regard to some of the problems. One has been the impact of the June court decision upon our membership. Another has been how to achieve "security." There has also been created an ideological impact; that is, was there a need or not for the Party. There also has been resistance to recruiting and a fear of re-registration. Some districts have



had no public spokesmen for the Party and there is a lack of full-time people.

Our chief problem now is an ideological one. That is, how to bring the analysis of the present day forces to the people; how can there be peaceful co-existence? How can the vanguard role of the Party be seen? Not by initiating all movements, but we can participate in mass movements that come into being. How to make the Party people see the possibility of success in this effort? All of these are ideological tasks, first of all.

Our Party needs a new re-dedication--devotion, self-sacrifice, struggle. This is necessary to meet the attacks and to raise the militancy of all struggles.

Our Party is involved in many mass movements; for example, youth, Negro, peace. Some of these mass movements are spontaneous and have now become organizations. Where are we? To the degree that we strengthen these movements ideologically and organizationally, we prove our vanguard role.

A broad left movement is growing in the United States. Some left groupings are the "National Guardian," "Monthly Review," "I. F. Stone Weekly," and others. Some of our own comrades are attracted to such papers as the "National Guardian." Why is this? The "Guardian" is legal and fights for some issues that the Communist Party does. The "Guardian" is sometimes sectarian but most of the time they take up issues that we can unite.

In the past, we either criticized the "National Guardian" or showered praise upon it.

We should criticize but in a friendly way and with explanations so that our friends can understand.

The role of NORMAN THOMAS reaches out to wide circles. The Trotskyists, too, have some influence among workers and trade unions. We have to reach out and form alliances with workers under the influence of the above people. We must unite with these people who represent the left on issues.

We are still very backward in the field of ideology; that is, spreading the ideology of Marxism to the masses. At one time we were the only exponents of Marxism, but this is not so now. In the past, ideologists of the bourgeoisie would dismiss Marx. This is not so now. There are many works and many varieties of "Marxism." C. WRIGET MILLS' new book, "The Marxists" needs study in this regard.

We are in an ideological competitive field. This means that the spreading of our books and pamphlets is important.

At the 17th National Convention, we adopted a policy of concentration. This policy still needs to be applied. We need to go into the details of this policy since this means reaching the working class, the youth, and the Negro people.

We are discussing the building of the Communist Party and how to attract youth. We must take into our ranks every youth who is willing to join even if they are not yet Communists. We must do this if we want to build our organization. We should not fear mistakes.

Now, on the question of community clubs. There have been many changes since we lost many members. With the decline of the membership, clubs have enlarged their areas. This has turned the clubs into "general" organizations. Clubs lose their character. Some clubs have lost their leadership and now they have a hard time getting one leader. They have no executives and many of those in the leadership are old.

Then, we have the younger people active in mass organizations but who only casually attend a club meeting but do not lead the club. There is an "inner core" that seems to perform all the Party tasks. We might suggest that they have club meetings of a composite of such people--have alternate meetings where one week the "broader" people meet and then the others meet.

We must not only exhort but through individual contact or collective contact, with our aid, seek to get at least 300 people to function.

Our weakest link today is with the industrial workers. If the community clubs are in difficulty, the industrial clubs are ten times as bad.

We must also concentrate on nationalities for particular concentration. They can help make contacts, mailings, and spread propaganda.

Then, there is the question how to use the peace movement or the people in it for concentration and how to reach trade unionists.

On the role and importance of "The Worker," the question is how to use it practically and ideologically. The "People World" increased its circulation by 1,600. Now, we are beginning to increase the circulation of the Midweek Edition in New York but such an increase is not steady. On the West Coast there is an apparatus for distribution of their paper.

JIM ALLEN then followed with a report on literature. The essence of his remarks is as follows:

We will give base outlines for the program of ideological literature. This report is not yet a committee report although it reflects ideas in GUS HALL's report. We cannot talk of literature separate and apart from magazines, periodicals, pamphlets, etc. The first problem is to meet the competition of Marxist--pretense--publications. We no longer are alone in this field for others print Marx's basic works but surround it with anti-Marxism and confusion.

We have to re-establish our publishing houses as those which have a complete line of Marxist literature. Classics and other basic texts are to be brought into print. Also, new ones have to be published. We should not put forth foreign editions but rather ones by our own professors. We should also put forth new compilations and selections of literature but not in the imported form. We should use American language, not terms like "political economy"--"Marxian economics"--"a Marxist reader and philosophy," etc. We must decide what to do with books like "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism;" 2,500 copies were sold in New York alone. Now, we are short again. We will publish this and present it as a paperback book, American made, and sell it for no more than \$3 and probably less. This must be done to reach the professors and students.

In the area of "anti-Communism" writings, we must learn how to meet this. Last week a book was published as a textbook on what is Communism's 100 questions. Here, we could establish a board of experts who could present the answers and make this a public issue.

A question we have is how to broaden our circle of contributors for our publications.

The form we use to do things is important. We must use accustomed formats. By early September, it will be possible to release a new paperback series, that is, quality paperbacks selling for \$1 to \$2, so that we can get into the accustomed channels of distribution. We are preparing 12 new titles. This means new approaches to distribution with new attention and effective treatment of those in our press, etc.

There then followed a report by JIM LUSTIG on the question of "The Worker." The essence of his remarks is as follows:

On the content of the paper, a few words. There is a constant effort among those on "The Worker" staff to improve the paper and a feeling it should reflect the struggles of the American workers. A certain improvement has been achieved as related to the peace, wage struggles, etc. More improvement is reflected in the Midweek Edition of "The Worker."

The two major lags as far as "The Worker" is concerned is the lack of a youth page written by youthful workers and the too few real theoretical articles.

On circulation, the figures are not more than they were a year ago. Here, we are stagnant. In New York they have distributed as many as 3,000 extra copies of the Midweek Edition. It has been found that features sell, as was evidenced by the teachers recently. At first the paper was rejected but later they began to read it. The same experience was found with the transport workers and now it is very good in Local 65.

Recently, 1,000 copies of the Midweek Worker were given away at Brooklyn College. The paper is accepted.

During the past three months in New York, there have been 300 new subscribers for "The Worker" and 250 new subscribers for the Midweek Edition. However, New York machinery for delivery has broken down. Only 20 people get bundles in New York and they sell 180 papers.

\$5,000 is needed each week just to publish the paper. On May 1st there should have been \$62,000 received in the fund drive but as of that time only \$32,000. The danger is now that there may be some down-swing in funds.

On May 20 there will be a special edition of "The Worker" on care of the aged. On July 4 there will be a bill of rights issue and there is a peace issue in the making. In New York there have been assigned a couple of people to build the circulation of the paper.

At this point, the following motions were made:

1) To approve report and summary presented by GUS HALL;

2) That HALL's report be published in pamphlet form and 10,000 copies printed and that this report be discussed within the Party;

3) That the main points of GUS HALL's report be popularized in our press;

4) Approve the report of PHIL BART and that points of discussion be taken to a subcommittee and included in a memo;

5) A motion that a letter be sent to the Socialist Party Convention next month proposing unity as had been outlined in GUS HALL's report.

All of the above were approved.

At this point, it was noted that of the \$50,000 which had been sought for the Hall-Davis Defense Committee, only half of the goal has now been achieved.

At this point, there was conducted a discussion with the use of the blackboard maintained in the meeting area at which time the following was pointed out.

The so-called June Defense Meeting initially scheduled for June 8, 9, and 10, 1962, has now been postponed until June 22, 23, and 24, 1962. It will be called a "National Defense Conference" and be held under the auspices of the GUS HALL-BEN DAVIS Defense Committee. Actually it will be an enlarged National Committee meeting. Between 100 and 125 people are expected to attend the meeting. However, the various Party Districts are being requested to pay half the traveling expenses of the delegates to this meeting and since some will find difficulty in doing so, the number of delegates present at the meeting necessarily will be limited. The reason behind the postponement of the meeting was that insufficient time existed to prepare for the meeting as originally scheduled.

The re-scheduled meeting will begin on the morning of June 22, 1962, as an enlarged Negro Commission meeting and the main conference will begin on the evening of that date. It is desired that all National Committee members attend this re-scheduled meeting as well as a representative from youth, from the Negro membership, and the heads of defense committees from more important districts.

IRVING POTASH then carried on a discussion relating to the new trade union magazine "Labor Today". He warned against the Party getting so close to the magazine as to identify it as a CP, USA, publication. POTASH urged that all districts make an effort to sell subscriptions to "Labor Today". He further suggested that the CP Districts obtain non-Party members to act as circulation managers. Trade unions, he noted, should be encouraged to set up committees popularizing "Labor Today" and trade union educational directors should be advised of the existence of this publication.

Before the meeting was finally concluded, GUS HALL made a motion which was approved and adopted that ROBERT THOMPSON

be CP, USA, Executive Secretary. HALL indicated that THOMPSON would specialize in one of three operations: Legislative, Industrial, or Educational. HALL warned the meeting that THOMPSON's appointment as Executive Secretary should be kept secret for the time being.

This concluded the four day enlarged meeting of the National Executive Committee.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: MAY 24, 1962

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN. IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE, SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement dated May 14-16, 1962, containing information orally furnished on May 14, 1962, to SAs CARL N. FREYMAN and RICHARD W. HANSEN and on May 15 and 16, 1962, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past. This information was reduced to writing on May 21, 1962, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A)134-46-7509.

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Baltimore (RM)
  - (1 - 100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS)
  - (1 - 100- CP, MARYLAND DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 2 - Cleveland (RM)
  - (1 - 65-721 ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
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(1 - 100-16021 ARNOLD JOHNSON)  
(1 - 100- [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100- JAMES LUSTIG)  
(1 - 100-135736 [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100-48033 IRVING POTASH)  
(1 - 100-84275 WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)  
(1 - 100-128255 [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100-68934 [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100-18065 JACOB STACHEL)  
(1 - 100-27452 ROBERT THOMPSON)  
(1 - 100-15946 JAMES TORMEY)  
(1 - 100-21421 ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG)  
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- 3 - Philadelphia (RM)
  - (1 - 100- )
  - (1 - 65-1686 THOMAS NABRIED)
  - (1 - 100- CP, EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA  
DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
  - (1 - 65-1242 MICKEY LIMA)
  - (1 - 100-27747 CP, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA  
DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 2 - Chicago
  - (1 - A)134-46- 7509.

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May 14-16, 1962

During the period of May 10-13, 1962, a four day enlarged meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and invited guests was held at the National Headquarters, CP, USA, in New York City. The a.m. proceedings of May 10, 1962, were chaired by BENJAMIN J. DAVIS Jr. and the p.m. session was chaired by GEORGE MEYERS.

The following individuals were present:

GUS HALL  
ROBERT THOMPSON  
JAMES ALLEN  
WILLIAM ALBERTSON  
WILLIAM WEINSTONE  
JACOB STACHEL  
JAMES JACKSON  
IRVING POTASH  
ANTHONY KRCHMAREK  
TOM DENNIS  
DOROTHY HEALEY  
MICKEY LIMA  
MORRIS CHILDS  
PHIL BART  
HELEN WINTER  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
JAMES TORMEY  
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG  
LOUIS WEINSTOCK  
JAMES LUSTIG  
BETTY GANNETT  
PATRICK TOOHEY  
WILLIAM PATTERSON  
ERICK BERT



THOMAS NABRIED

A person identical with the editor of "New Horizons for Youth"

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GUS HALL submitted the main and opening report, the essence of which is set forth below.

The dominant force in our time is the shift of forces. These are gravitating towards the socialist and the colonial world. No event, economic or political, takes place unaffected because of international relations. No domestic problem is uninfluenced by international socialism. Talk big of "new frontiers" but there is no way out. New problems arise as the result of the third stage crisis - "peaceful erosion" of capitalism. Wishing won't make it so.

What is happening to the United States in this epoch as the relation of world forces has changed? For the United States there has been decay and decline in relation to world capitalism and socialism. The "American century" has turned into decline. This is kept from the American public as a "top secret" but for us this is important to publicize. The cold war policies are sacrificing the national interest. Everything for financial monopolies, even if the interests of the people must be sacrificed. This was true under the TRUMAN and EISENHOWER Administrations and now in the KENNEDY Administration. The cold war policies are self-defeating and will lead to disaster for the people's interests. CYRUS EATON said "The United States is riding for a fall by basing domestic and foreign policy on war". This will lead to bankruptcy. We must show the people of the United States that there is no solution on the path of the cold war but rather this aggravates problems.

Developments internally and externally have created a situation which makes it possible to pressure changes of policies. We must show damage to the nation economically and how it will develop political damage. For us it is important to show as related to tactics, the people versus the Morgan-Rockefeller interests.

What has the cold war done to the position of the United States? The share of world capitalist production in 1937 was 41.5 per cent. In 1947, after the advantage of war, this share of world production rose to 58 per cent. This was the peak. And this was the year after CHURCHILL made his Fulton, Missouri speech at which he said the United States

was at the pinnacle of world power. The architects of the cold war did not understand the forces of history and of world development. They started from the false premise of the cold war. World War II had already changed the relation of forces with the United States and the Soviet Union emerging as the most powerful states. A realistic settlement at the time based on peaceful co-existence would have benefited the United States and the world. But instead, atomic monopoly and cold war was supposed to be the grand desire to turn the wheels of industry. In 1960, the United States share turned downward to 45 per cent. Exports too have declined. In 1937, they stood at 14 per cent; in 1947, 33 per cent, and in 1960, had declined to 18 per cent and the decline continues.

In the auto industry before the cold war, the United States produced 85 per cent of all automobiles and now produces only 50 per cent. The same applies to steel. Where we did produce 50 per cent, we now produce 25 per cent or less. The most successful achievement of the United States has been the "self-imposed blockade" from the socialist world. The socialist world has increased its share of production to 32 per cent.

Cold war policies, economic and political, have fused the monopolies. The cold war policies and monopolies dominate government, its foreign policy, imperialist expansion. Government appropriations are used by monopolies around the world. The cold war policy has even been responsible for the run on gold reserves and the drop in exports is due to the cold war. The twenty-four and one-half billion dollar gold reserve is now only sixteen and one-half billion dollars, even if it has closed down.

While we do not say that United States capitalism has reached a "dead end", there are processes leading to qualitative changes or effects on policies. The run on the gold reserve is one of these processes. Export of capital is another of these processes. Monopolies who dictate prices and wages here are also beneficiaries of the cold war. If big steel would have lost 20 per cent of its sales, it still would have netted 80 million dollars, even if the orders had gone to foreign mills since the monopolies who own foreign

mills would have profited. We must publicize the argument that wages are held down because of foreign competition and the higher steel production in foreign countries. President KENNEDY reacted in favor of class interests. Sections of the monopoly do not always see class interests. Interests of the capitalists as a class are best served by KENNEDY.

The export of capital flows two directions. By buying into competitive industries abroad, all large corporations have large overseas divisions or a part of the world cartel. Many United States corporations who do big business abroad do not employ any United States workers. Many corporations have traveling managers who watch production abroad especially in competitive industry. Eleven thousand dollars is invested for each worker in machinery and etc. abroad. This foreign investment could have supplied 4 million jobs for United States workers.

Despite the United States Department of Labor's figure, five million workers are permanently unemployed. As a result of automation, one and one-quarter million workers have been thrown out of jobs each year. One should study KEYSERLING's report. This report proves that 38 million Americans live below poverty levels, that is, earn less than \$40 a week. Another 39 million Americans live below depression levels, that is, earn \$30 a week. This is growth of mass poverty amidst boom.

The third stage of the general crisis of capitalism will lead to qualitative change. I wonder if we grasp this fact, "Party of the poor". Another factor, war production, has been used as a pump primer. This has been costly but profitable for monopolies but less and less effective as an economic stabilizer. For monopolies, missiles are okay, but not for the masses as they have created no jobs, only war profits.

The rising national debt and the growing interest, government subsidies for over expansion, continued trade blockade, all sooner or later will have a qualitative effect on policies. The United States as it slips, loses its political position as can be evidenced in Western Germany and France. Berlin has brought embarrassments for the United States. We use the old

argument that the United States builds up German imperialism and it results in the deterioration of NATO. While the United States position is deteriorating in the capitalist world, they are trying to control military domination in its alliances in order to retain it. This third stage development is occurring in peace time. The nation and the people are being sacrificed for the benefit of the monopolies who drain the resources of the country for the cold war. The cold war economy works itself into and out of continuous depressions. What has been bad for the financial empires of the MORGANS and the ROCKEFELLERS has been bad for the people of the nation. For example, the ROCKEFELLER family is the greatest beneficiary of the cold war and have control in all Administrations through people like DULLES and RUSK. ALLAN DULLES, CLAY and MC CONE were representatives of the Chase National Bank. This reflects state monopoly capital in the raw, with no cover-up with resulting profits for the ROCKEFELLER-MORGAN interests. "Never have so many been forced to sacrifice for so few for so long".

Our self-interest as a people and a nation must have a change. Forces are developing and pressing for a change. This is bound up with the cold war policy. We must show that history is pressing for it. We must show the tax problem and ask for elimination of taxes on middle and lower incomes. We must work for the transfer of wasteful war expenditures to peaceful use and the six hour day can become a reality. If policy is reversed the United States can have favorable trade balances. We need a concrete program for the reversal of cold war policies. "Let cold war fade and nations will trade". We must also seek to end A-bomb testing. We must ask for a tax on overseas profits, and remove overseas bases. What about international obligations? Such changes would help. United States capital still has reserves and maneuverability but this will narrow if the cold war continues. We have now reached the point of development where we can make hay. Now we can place the interest of the nation in a way like they do in other countries.

Now on the domestic situation. The KENNEDY Administration stubbornly clings to the cold war line. Each step of implementation is the instrument of pressure by monopoly on

the Administration for the cold war policy. The ultra right is not demanding new policy but implementation of old policy, each step of which leads to war - nuclear disaster. This cannot go on without qualitative change. If it goes on we face disaster to nuclear war. South Viet Nam, nuclear tests, continued building of armed forces, policy towards Cuba, Taiwan, each are a step of implementation which feeds the ultra right. Only reversal can lead to the repulse of the right wing.

Monopoly supports the ultra right and wants to destroy the forces for peace. They also want to take over the trade unions or destroy them. It is also for the policy of the Administration to dictate to unions in the name of "public interest". The SACB based its decision on the Mine-Mill and the conviction of ARCHIE BROWN on the basis of "If you can't control - destroy".

The policy of supporting forces of Fascist formation is a part of the policy of the cold war. The cold war climate is good for the growth of the ultra right. GOLDWATER and THURMAN are a part of the spectrum of Fascism. Victory in the cold war cry is a cover for nuclear war. We must show this otherwise it is suicide with no way out.

Anti-Communism is big business in the United States. We should not get used to it. Like HITLER, the ultra right would lead to a monopoly Fascist state. This danger became codified in the McCarran Act and legalized the ultra right. This finding has become an expected truism for anti-Communism. In Louisiana, one cannot enter high school unless he has had a six month course in anti-Communism, a course really on the findings in the McCarran Act. This anti-Communism is skin deep. In the fight we must show that anti-Communism, as is the McCarran Act, are weapons against the people and will cancel out democratic processes. The emotional use of "foreign agent" is anti-democratic. We must expose the use of this weapon by trade union leaders and others. We are not against those who are not Communist but against the Hitlerite anti-Communist. The ultra right is generally dangerous but their attack had been blunted when the people saw through the right.



The masses are in motion in the United States. We must see this and should not ignore it. Bubbles is what some of us said but they are really deep currents. If isolated and not in the mass currents, we draw wrong conclusions on possibilities of victory, peace, ultra right, and etc. and develop defeatist concepts about the role of the CP, USA. We must learn from the past mistakes of the forties and fifties or we will make more mistakes. Today the youth is the most active contingent of this mass wave and is the spark on all major issues. Symbolic of this is the student demand to hear a Communist spokesman. This is of great magnitude and no force can ignore it.

In regard to the question of the youth. The old youth organization is not reacting the same as it did in the thirties. We must meet with the youth and we must find forms so that they can express themselves. To get this united expression on every level we will need a variety of forms. If the Party is an obstacle, let's change forms. Legality is no excuse. It would be defeatism not to get them into our Party. There is an age gap in the Party and we must find a bridge for that gap. In speaking of flexibility of organizations, we can use youth divisions, youth clubs, youth sections. Also the forms of education should be different.

On the Negro people's movement. This is a second contingent of the upsurge. If it is not as dramatic as before, there are makings for a historic break-through in the South. This will break the power of the Dixiecrats and will be done through registration and voting. This is not the period of lull but of advance. The Negro people's movements have enough power to force action against the Administration together with allies like labor and other elements. The attempted banishment and deportation of the Negro from the South must be fought. "Funds for South United States not South Viet Nam".

How far can passive resistance go? Who is right, KING or WILLIAMS? Passive resistance was the stage that got people off a certain level and played a definite role. WILLIAMS' methods expressed dissatisfaction, but KING's movement reflects a real stage but needs more mass action. WILLIAMS' method is not reality.

The third element of the mass wave is the peace movement. It is gathering momentum and has won support in the organization Strike for Peace. Tons of literature are being distributed on peace by dozens of organizations. Our task is to secure more central co-ordinated action. Negro women pressing for this movement have been important. Getting the trade unions into the peace movement is also important. Students now go and speak to conferences on peace. We are not out to capture the peace movement and to make no expose of the socialist narrowing of this peace movement. Peace can be the basis for the united front with the socialists. Our posture for the peace struggle must be based on who is responsible for the tests and the imperialist nature of the tests. We must discuss all of these things but also must place the fact that first of all we are for peace generally. When this is done other things will fall into place. We do not always have to have the same position as other parties. Some Soviet statements rejected their position on Berlin and later changed again. We dropped our tactic for "access to Berlin" but we should have held on to our position.

Now on the question of the trade union movement. No other class of people is more negatively affected as are the workers by war. MEANY, etc. want to continue the cold war policy. REUTHER, MC DONALD, and other trade union leaders are tied to the Administration's policy. They have become less effective. The recent steel settlement was a sacrifice for the cold war. The present Administration tries to dictate to the trade unions. The present policy of MEANY's "status quo" economic concept is defeatist, and in the meanwhile, the speed-up, the cost of living, and etc. go on. The idea that the nation can profit from the cold war has run its course. How can the rank and file support their unions under these conditions? We must find means to expose the rank and file feelings and to mobilize them around specific questions like job security, against speed-ups. There is new need for the Communist Party and the left in the trade union movement. How to exercise such leadership is the question. The starting point is not to prove how lousy the trade union leadership is, the first task is to convince the trade unions that there is a set of problems that cannot be solved singly. The flow from the cold war, national

interest, are not being put forth by the Administration. Copying won't give us a place in this movement. The thirty hour week is part of job security as is nationalization of sick industry, and the stopping of overseas runaway shops. The Communist Party and the left must become trade union leaders in the real sense of the word, even if they hold no office. On the question of peace, we must bring this issue to the trade unions and point out the destruction of nuclear war and that there are no jobs in the wasteland. Instead we must show them that money for destruction can be used for construction.

Now on the matter of shop work. We must emphasize and improve, not liquidate. We can break through with our flexible tactics. We must look for the arms and the hands to carry through our Party policy.

Marxism is a legitimate body of thought but how do we get people to realize this. Perhaps a solution is a Marxist Institute, not necessarily a Party institute, which could be established not to teach the Marxism of the Archives, not to re-debate what MARX and ENGELS debated though they did well, but to discuss certain questions of Marxism that have a mass base. We must avoid issues that have interest only to the intellectuals. Dozens of student magazines and papers now open up avenues that will be responsive.

In regard to the national groups, the old ones perpetrate old institutions like old papers. We have to break this circle and must go beyond the left. They should not just be cultural institutions. They should be organized so that they will fight for peace and for our policies.

Now on the question of unity. We must be the champions for the unity of the world's peoples. That we can do this is shown on the response on the Festival, the world response of the Women for Peace, and the feeling of oneness of the Negro people. These developments have counteracted the ultra right chauvinism. In the NATO countries we must show that the workers are being used against each other and form a united front of

workers. We must stress the need for unity of world peace forces and show that it is not limited to what only Communists think against tests and for disarmament, etc. Let the various movements arrive at conclusions on the basis of experience.

There is need for unity among the Marxists. This lack of unity has damaged the world movement and given encouragement to the forces of imperialism. The State Department has concrete plans - "no pressure on Albania". The lack of unity of Marxist world forces will encourage adventurous policies. Imperialists, however, have made two mistakes by over-rating and counting too much on a split. Life has proved the correctness of the 20th and 22nd Congresses as well as the meeting of the 81 Workers and Communist Parties. We need deeper understanding of the declarations and results of these meetings. There is no sense in agreeing that "peace is the central issue" and then place other issues as being "bigger" or that unity is necessary and then slander the Soviet Union and its leadership. The influence of the bourgeois nationalists is the source of some of these attitudes current in some Marxist parties. We should draw lessons from some Marxist party skipping stages in the building of a new society. At the same time also remember that it is wrong to draw general theoretical conclusions on the skipping of stages.

Yugoslavian, Chinese, and Cuban experiences should be studied. However, they should not impose their views over the head of the leadership of other parties. Each party should have the final word on policy, history, personnel, and people, and their role in history. One party cannot judge another party's policies and personnel. A party should not initiate publicly, discussions that affect other parties without first having had discussions thereof. There are some signs of improvement. Some parties are learning the cost of skipping stages. I think that Yugoslavia is also learning that too much de-centralization is "skipping stages". Now there is complete agreement that "disarmament is the central issue", even among the Chinese.

On the matter of Party cadre. How do you make a Rip Van Winkle look alive? Those who live in the past are like punch drunk fighters. The question is how to inject a spirit of sacrifice in the people. How to develop one who puts personal security and comfort last. How to instill initiative. How not merely to instill Pavlovian reflexes but rather action. How to make the cadre feel it is a part of a community and are

not freaks. How to give the cadre a sense of victory. In some districts there is no confidence in the mass movement and no sense of fight or militancy. Many shy away from the river and swim in the pools. There is endless inter-Party discussion and fanciful discussion. How do we get the new cadre to see the new epoch and the new tactics. How do we get them to see that we can defend our Party and win? How do we break the circle? Is age the problem? It is not all age, it is partly political weakness and the effect of the ideological influence of the enemy who are saying "It is hopeless", "It is no use", "Give it up". Many can cling to ideals but there has been no struggle. We must believe in struggle and victory.

On the matter of the defense of our Party. If we put up a good campaign, we can win. We have slowed the attack against our Party. The defense of GUS and BEN DAVIS is the key, but it is not our personal defense, it is defense of the Party. The recent May Day meetings were not understood and in New York no literature was distributed. Be ready for qualitative changes.

Following HALL's report, there was a general discussion thereof participated in by the below named individuals. Where such individuals rendered pertinent remarks, the essence thereof has been set forth.

JAMES JACKSON

This report has been a good one, well-rounded and containing a classic concretization of this stage of monopoly capital. Perhaps now is the time to raise the question of nationalization in some industries on a selective basis, such as industries isolated in the eyes of public opinion because of some misdeeds like profiteering and etc.

ANTHONY KRCHMAREK  
ERICK BERT  
GEORGE MEYERS  
BEN DAVIS  
WILLIAM WEINSTONE  
WILLIAM PATTERSON  
TOMMY DENNIS

JACK STACHEL

For the meeting planned for June 7th, there will be 8 committees working on various subjects, namely, on national interests, on necessity for the Party, on "World Marxist Review" editorial, elections, trade union, youth, Party organization, and on anti-Communism.

At this point, the meeting adjourned until a.m. of May 11, 1962.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

DATE: May 18, 1962

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement dated May 14-16, 1962, containing information orally furnished on May 14, 1962, to SAs CARL N. FREYMAN and RICHARD W. HANSEN and on May 15 and 16, 1962, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past. This information was reduced to writing on May 17, 1962, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A)134-46-7504.

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
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  - (1 - 100- CP, MARYLAND DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 3 - Cleveland (RM)
  - (1 - 100- CYRUS EATON)
  - (1 - 65-721 ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
  - (1 - 100-17257 CP, OHIO DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)

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    (1 - 100-135736 [REDACTED])  
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- (1 - 100- COPE)
- (1 - 100- COMINFIL MASS ORGANIZATIONS)
- (1 - 100- PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ORGANIZING COMMITTEE)
- (1 - 100-137025 "WORLD MARXIST REVIEW")
- 2 - Philadelphia (RM)
  - (1 - 65-1686 THOMAS NABRIED)
  - (1 - 100- CP, EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
  - (1 - 65-1242 MICKEY LIMA)
  - (1 - 100-27747 CP, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 4 - Chicago
  - (1 - A)134-46- 7504
  - (1 - 61-867 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - (1 - 100-18953 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)

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May 14-16, 1962

During the period May 10-13, 1962, a four-day enlarged meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and invited guests was held at the National Headquarters of the CP, USA in New York City. The second-day sessions held on May 11, 1962, were chaired by HELEN WINTER of Detroit.

The following individuals were present:

GUS HALL  
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.  
ROBERT THOMPSON  
JAMES ALLEN  
WILLIAM ALBERTSON  
WILLIAM WEINSTONE  
JACOB STACHEL  
JAMES JACKSON  
IRVING POTASH  
ANTHONY KRCEMAREK  
TOMMY DENNIS  
DOROTHY HEALEY  
NICKEY LIMA  
GEORGE MEYERS  
NORRIS CHILDS  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
JAMES TORNEY  
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG  
BETTY GANNETT  
PATRICK TOOHEY  
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

[REDACTED]  
THOMAS NABRIED  
[REDACTED]

At the opening of this session, a motion was made and carried to send greetings to ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, CARL WINTER and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT who were unable to attend this meeting for various reasons.

**ARNOLD JOHNSON** made the first report on the matter of CP, USA electoral policies. In this report, he stressed the need for independent political action and for the establishment of a new major party which would militantly combat monopolies. He noted the importance of the primary elections now being held in many of the states throughout the country.

**JOHNSON** expressed the opinion that one of the major objectives of the CP, USA should be to seek the defeat of **NELSON ROCKEFELLER** in the latter individual's campaign for re-election as Governor of New York State. He noted that to defeat **ROCKEFELLER** in his bid for re-election to the Governorship would effect his elimination as a candidate for the presidency of the United States, a major objective.

**JOHNSON** noted that 39 liberal Congressmen will be in need of support in the next congressional election. He pointed out that among them were some from Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, who could be described as "peace candidates." These individuals should, in particular, be vigorously supported.

**JOHNSON** further charged that the Kennedy Administration had completely failed in its civil rights program and felt that should **ROCKEFELLER** press for an effective civil rights program, the latter individual could conceivably win a presidential election on that basis.

According to **JOHNSON**, the CP, USA electoral program should include the issues of outlawing war, recognizing China, the removal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam and U.S. naval units from Formosan waters, outlawing monopolies, an effective civil rights program, nationalization of certain industries, health insurance, effective agricultural program, income exemptions on income less than \$5,000, and "other prospectives for socialism."

Following **JOHNSON's** report, there was a general discussion in which the following individuals participated and commented favorably:

**HICKEY LIMA**  
**TOMMY DENNIS**

**ROBERT THOMPSON**  
**DOROTHY HEALEY**  
**PATRICK TOOHEY**  
**IRVING POTASH**

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JAMES TORNEY then followed with a report on Party defense activity. He expressed agreement with the comments made by GUS HALL in this individual's main report delivered during the first-day sessions regarding the need for a militant membership. He noted that the Party today is not confronted with the pressure of "the days of McCarthy." He called for pressures on the Congress of the U.S. to revoke anti-Communist legislation. He stressed the need for a vigorous defense of GUS HALL and BEN DAVIS, JR., and for legislation giving the CP the right to participate legally in political activity.

TORNEY then noted that the Party will have an advertisement in the publication "The Nation" which will solicit funds for the defense of HALL and DAVIS. In this same regard, he suggested advertisements be placed in other magazines and newspapers for this same purpose.

He then noted that the Party planned to print copies of HALL's speeches which he had recently delivered at universities throughout the country and also to print a speech presented by BEN DAVIS before a Harvard University Law School alumni group. TORNEY pointed out that the CP lawyers are currently preparing a digest of the McCarran Act.

Following TORNEY's report, there were favorable comments made thereon by WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, MORRIS CHILDS, and HELEN WINTER.

GEORGE HEYERS then spoke briefly, commenting favorably on the electoral report of JOHNSON.

BENJAMIN DAVIS followed and spoke on the CP electoral program and stressed the importance of the CP making every effort to insure the election of RALPH BUNCHE to the U.S. Senate. He felt that the Party should now begin a campaign to appoint a Negro as a U.S. Supreme Court Justice when the next vacancy appeared in that Court.

At this point, just prior to the conclusion of the session, GUS HALL again took the floor and presented a summary of his main report which he had presented on the preceding day. The essence of HALL's remarks at this time is as follows:

This meeting had problems to overcome--a discussion gap. Some of us have been having discussions but others are here for the first time in many months. The thing not to lose sight of is the central point of the report, the key question. It is a fundamental question and if we agree, we will work out tactics. This is a preparatory meeting, and we will round out the matters later.

On specific things. In a recent "World Marxist Review" editorial they describe the "United States as center of fascism." We do not accept this, we have our own ideas.

Why are we here now and not three or six months ago? This decision to get together follows a discussion a few weeks back. It was found there was a need for such a meeting based upon the concept we are "not legal but not illegal." There is an element of "gamble" in prediction and there may be more harassment, arrests, or indictments. But we felt days after the indictment that we might have a period of "calmness" or less "harassment." We can use these weeks relatively fast to get together to resolve problems. If we thought we had more time, we would have called a convention. Now, on the basis of these decisions, the National Executive Committee met. But we better work fast as we don't know how long this period will last. Some things in the "climate" are visible, some are not.

The concentration camp expose was first raised in 1952. At that time there was no such protest as there are now and this is a sign of a new climate. This was part of our thinking on this get-together.

On trade union unity. I agree with BOB that world unity of workers is important, but there are practical questions that make this unity difficult. Yet, we can have limited union and union contact and person-to-person contact. This can be done on the basis of common economic demands.

Now, on the Marxist Institute and as to its direction and center of gravity. It is a fact that some people, intellectuals, are interested in problems that the workers are not always interested in. There are certain questions that interest workers--current or theoretical. Some questions, however, stand out and will attract workers, youths, Negroes, etc. Therefore, a proper posture is needed.

On the Kennedy Administration and the ultra-right. We will examine if we are off balance. We must hold on to our position on the differentiation between the Kennedy Administration and the ultra-right; what are the problems within that? The Administration does follow the cold war policy and does implement the policy of the ultra-right like South Vietnam, etc. If this continues, that is, the cold war policy, there are dangers. What has bothered me is how to present this problem without creating the impression that the Kennedy Administration has already shifted. We should not rule out that the Kennedy Administration might shift.

On the united front question. The content of our united front must always reflect the central question of a given period. In the thirties, fascism and peace and relief were the central questions. Today, in an anti-monopoly coalition, we put forward the national interest. First, the interest of the workers, the Negroes, and the farmers and further their demands but within the content of national interest. In every field we need to see the national interest. We need to recognize the new balance of forces in the world objectively as a progressive act. The ultra-right does not see this. In the united front, people will see this and cement unity.

The policy of reaction is contrary to the national interest and the people sense this. The united front will be based on the peace issue or for democracy of all classes, Negro rights, labor, youth, etc. This is the general framework of our electoral policies. Multi-class or multi-group will join the united front.

We should emphasize that people can use the two-Party system and can use it successfully if they work independently inside and outside of both Parties. Here, a variety of forms exist like COPE, Brotherhood Party, etc. Our task, besides policy and outlook, is how to organize and use independent forms. Our outlook is that candidates are not only Democrats or Republicans but also have an independent base.

In regard to "left unity." We must spread this. Left unity is not in a vacuum and left formations have relations with broader movements. You cannot jump over this "left," and if we try, they will become obstacles. Even a Norman Thomas influences broader movements. We must be careful that we do not insist that these people of the left turn around and march with us. We

must work together with them in whatever movements they are working. If it is the peace movement, we want to help.

We must get down to brass tacks on these things and even assign people for work with the left. Questions on which we can agree get bigger. The left has changed, too, because of the reality of the present situation. There are new possibilities also because we have changed, too, and admit mistakes. We can afford to be big because of the world socialist movement.

The policies of the cold war may continue. The gap between the people and the monopolies will continue and the possibilities will grow. You may have then more than one Cyrus Eaton. Mass movements will expand. If the Kennedy Administration will continue to implement the cold war policies, the mass movement will expand. In the trade union movement, too, people will resist sacrifices for the cold war.

If there is an agreement to ban atomic tests or an agreement on Berlin or some disarmament, then, of course, differences will decline. But the anti-monopoly coalition is not dependent on that.

The internal divisions in our Party have disappeared for the first time in many years. There are some differences, yes, but these are all right.

As MORRIS CHILDS said, we are speaking to millions. There are great possibilities to sell Marxist literature. When they buy our literature, there is no argument on what they seek.

We are now in the center of stages and we use it. Our prestige is higher, especially among the left and especially since our policies have won over the youth and not just a few of them. In bull sessions with youth, the discussions are chiefly around Party policies. In and around the Party there are still questions. Some think that our tactic on the ultra-right has "helped KENNEDY." In reality, we hit KENNEDY and compel action against the ultra-right. If we lift the pressures on the ultra-right, the Kennedy Administration moves forward. Some say that the Communist Party should not be the force against the ultra-right and say "let the liberals do this." If you support the "liberal papers," it will hurt the fight. The Communist Party should have advanced positions so liberals will not be charged with "alliance - CP." We will support some issues in the "liberal papers" and criticize things we do not agree with.

Now, about recruiting. DOROTHY argues from a wrong premise. She implies that we do away with work, etc. and engage in a massive recruiting drive. What IRVING says is right--the thing to do is to get together and build the Party. There are thousands of youth who place confidence in our Party. If we do not take them, they will go to the Socialist Party or the Trotskyites. We only want 250 youth members. Some youth won't join the PYOC but will join the Communist Party for security reasons. Security cannot be the chief factor for not recruiting. Political factors come first and then we use security. The question is, how do we take the recruits in and not why we take them in.

One of my chief tasks is youth work, an assignment by the Board. All districts must assign their best cadre to take maximum advantage of recruiting youth. This is a life and death question for our Party. The lack of youth in our Party gave us a pessimistic feeling. Now, we behave differently and are more optimistic. Standards for recruits must be "youth standards." We won't use the word "candidates" for the Party but that's the idea.

Liquidationist ideas attach themselves to "flexibility" and forms of organization. There has been unnecessary effacing of the Party, liquidating the Party as a public organization or as a public spokesman. Some clubs had lost Party contact and that was liquidationism. We fought against these concepts. We have played by ear too long. We should have found ways of speaking up. But since our indictment, we have taken up the slack and entered a new phase of organization.

What to do with documents on the following topics:

- 1) International situation;
- 2) Elections;
- 3) Trade unions;
- 4) On youth;
- 5) On ultra-right;
- 6) On work with the left



This is a question we will decide later.

At this point, JACK STACHEL spoke briefly, stating that no documents were available; however, reports will be carefully edited and published in pamphlets. This will be done before the other gathering in June. It is hoped that copies will be available in two weeks. In regard to this June conference, there were eight subcommittees, six of which have met. The Negro Commission met once last week. Specifically, we will decide on the nature of some of the documents later.

At this point, HALL commented that if documents were not ready, to use "my report" as the basis.

This ended the second-day session of this meeting.



**TO:** SAC, NEW YORK  
**FROM:** SAC, NEWARK (100-46498)  
**SUBJECT:** "PROGRESSIVE LABOR"  
IS - C

**DATE:** 6/4/62

Date received <b>5/1/62</b>	Received from (name or symbol number) <b>[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past</b>	Received by <b>SA [redacted]</b>
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**5/1/62**

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Brief description of activity or material

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(WILBUR BROMS)

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(1 - 100-128817) (CP, NYD, MEMBERSHIP)  
(1 - 100-80638) (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)

1 - Philadelphia

1 - Pittsburgh

3 - Newark  
(1 - 100-35539)

OAC:mdd  
(25)

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b7C  
b7D

NK 100-46498

May 1, 1962

There was a "PROGRESSIVE LABOR" party given on April 21, 1962 in an apartment located at [redacted]. The apartment was located under the apartment of [redacted]. It was said that [redacted] planned to marry this girl on May 1, 1962.

About 100 to 150 people were present at this party and the apartment was quite crowded. Some of those present were [redacted].

[redacted] WILBUR BROMS [redacted] white male, approximately [redacted] 5'8" to 5'9", blond hair, wore blue jeans and weighed 135 to 140 pounds. This individual [redacted] He was very talented.

Some one was overheard saying that earlier in the party, a person named [redacted].

An unidentified white male from Pennsylvania was introduced by [redacted].

[redacted] This man spoke on the split in the left wing movement and said that this split should not interfere with the struggle against the main enemy. He spoke with a country accent, wore a blue shirt, no tie and unpresed trousers. He was [redacted] years old, 5'7", 180 pounds, grey receding hair and [redacted].

[redacted] spoke and introduced himself as the editor of "PROGRESSIVE LABOR" and he said [redacted] was a writer for "PROGRESSIVE LABOR". [redacted] spoke on the need for socialism and said that four issues of "PROGRESSIVE LABOR" had been printed and that there were about 200 subscribers to "PROGRESSIVE LABOR".

TO: SAC, NEW YORK  
FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-46498)  
SUBJECT: "PROGRESSIVE LABOR"  
IS - C

DATE: 6/4/62

Date received <b>5/1/62</b>	Received from (name or symbol number) <b>[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past</b>	Received by <b>SA [redacted]</b>
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person     by telephone     by mail     orally     recording device     written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Transcribed \_\_\_\_\_

Authenticated by Informant \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Report

**5/1/62**

Date(s) of activity

**4/26/62**

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Brief description of activity or material

PROGRESSIVE LABOR group meeting.

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks:

- 21 - New York (RM)
- (1 - 100-123494)
- (1 - 158-36)
- (1 - 122-937)
- (1 - 100-109560)
- (1 - 100-93296)
- (1 - 100-83193)
- (1 - 100- )



b6  
b7C

- (1 - 100- ) (PROGRESSIVE LABOR GROUP)
- (1 - 100-146534) (WILBUR BROMS)
- (1 - 100- ) (Wife of WALLY LINDER)
- (1 - 100-128821) (CP, NYD, FACTIONALISM)
- (1 - 100-87211) (CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)
- (1 - 100-128809) (CP, NYD, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- (1 - 100-89590) (CP, USA, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- (1 - 100-128817) (CP, NYD, MEMBERSHIP)
- (1 - 100-80638) (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
- (1 - 100-128814) (CP, NYD, ORGANIZATION)
- (1 - 100-80641) (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)

Block Stamp

COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 1A

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(24)

100-80638-1942

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 5 1962	
FBI-NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

NK 100-46498

COPIES CONTINUED:

21 - New York (RM)  
(1 - 100-128812) (CP, NYD, POLITICAL ACTIVITY)  
(1 - 100-84935) (COMINFIL RAILROAD INDUSTRY)

3 - Newark:

(1 - 100-35539)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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b7D

OAC:mdd  
(24)

May 1, 1962

There was a meeting on April 26, 1962 at the home of [redacted] New York. Present at this meeting were [redacted]

[redacted] been on a CBS newsreel that night having been interviewed by newsmen as he was picketing somewhere. He apparently lives in [redacted]

This meeting was centered around the publication called "Progressive Labor". There is no name yet for this group but it is orientated around "Progressive Labor" and it was described as a group to improve the lot of the trade union worker in America by using Marxist theory. The group, judging from the conversation during this meeting, is much bigger than the number present at this meeting and is scattered throughout the east. Judging from what [redacted] said, he and [redacted] have been attending central meetings for this group. These meetings consisted of representatives from the entire group who seemed to form something like a sustaining committee to coordinate the entire group. [redacted] said he had been too busy to keep going to these meetings so [redacted] said they would continue to attend on their own. [redacted] said that this group is starting a new political party but as yet they have no name for themselves. They are supposed to meet once every two weeks and the next meeting is scheduled to be held at [redacted] beginning at 8:00 P.M., Thursday, May 10, 1962.

A budget of \$10,000.00 is supposed to have been set for "Progressive Labor" but this amount has not been raised. "Progressive Labor" is being printed on someone's lithograph at a place near 42nd Street by someone who is giving them a reduction on the paper used by the group who hope to print "Progressive Labor" for themselves at sometime in the future.

[redacted] asked the members present what their status was with the COMMUNIST PARTY (CP). [redacted] advised



them that he considered himself to still be a member of the CP and he was getting himself active in the CP in New Jersey. The answer [redacted] got was that those present were out of the Party but they said they had no objection to [redacted] being a member of the Party and a member of their group. [redacted] said that WILBUR BROMS will not meet with this group and he said that "we lost him - he is in a west side club". It is not known whether [redacted] meant that BROMS was in a west side CP club or possibly in a west side group of expelled members from the CP.

[redacted] appears to be in the CP because she left the apartment during the meeting, saying she was going to a peace meeting upstairs and in the conversation that developed, she addressed the group with the statement that "that is why you guys can't get along" which referred to their argument with the CP.

It was mentioned at this meeting that some man who distributes magazines has guaranteed to put "Progressive Labor" on 300 stands in New York City for a charge of \$45 per issue. After some discussion it was decided to accept this offer.

The meeting discussed the election of a president of the group but nothing was decided. The group appears interested in getting anyone into its membership who was ever in the CP, is presently in the CP or is progressive minded.

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-147372)  
FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-46498)  
SUBJECT: "PROGRESSIVE LABOR"  
IS - C

DATE: 6/5/62

Date received <b>5/10/62</b>	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] who has furnished <b>reliable info in the past</b>	Received by <b>SA</b> [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person     by telephone     by mail     orally     recording device     written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Dictated \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Transcribed \_\_\_\_\_

Authenticated by Informant \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Report

**5/10/62**

Date(s) of activity

**5/9/62**

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Brief description of activity or material

[redacted]

File where original is located if not attached

[redacted]

Remarks:

**EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION TO PRECLUDE COMPROMISING THE INFORMANT.**

- 18 New York
- (1 158-37) [redacted]
- (1 122-939) [redacted]
- (1 100-111165) [redacted]
- (1 100- ) (PROGRESSIVE LABOR GROUP)
- (1 100-118174) [redacted]
- (1 100-26018) (LOU WEINSTOCK)
- (1 100-109560) [redacted]
- (1 100-84935) (COMINFIL, RAILROAD INDUSTRY)
- (1 100-128821) (CP, NYD, FACTIONALISM)
- (1 100-87211) (CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)
- (1 100-132491) (CP, NYD, RAILROAD REGION)
- (1 100-128814) (CP, NYD, ORGANIZATION)
- (1 100-80641) (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
- (1 100-128817) (CP, NYD, MEMBERSHIP)
- (1 100-80638) (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
- (1 100-128809) (CP, NYD, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- (1 100-89590) (CP, USA, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)

b6  
b7C  
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- 4 Newark
- (1 100-35539) [redacted]
- (1 100-32233) (LEW KOROZE)

OAC:maj  
(22)

Block Stamp

100-80638-1943

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_ INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_ FILED \_\_\_\_\_

JUN 6 1962  
FBI-NEW YORK

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: "4/5", "K.F.", "Waters"]*

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-147372)  
FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-46498)  
SUBJECT: "PROGRESSIVE LABOR"  
IS - C

DATE: 6/7/62

Date received <b>5/15/62</b>	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past	Received by SA [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person     by telephone     by mail     orally     recording device     written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:  Dictated _____ to _____  Transcribed _____  Authenticated by Informant _____	Date of Report <b>5/15/62</b>
	Date(s) of activity <b>5/15/62</b>
	b6 b7C b7D

Brief description of activity or material

**Meeting between** [redacted]

[redacted]

File where original is located if not attached  
[redacted]

Remarks:

**EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION TO PRECLUDE COMPROMISING THE INFORMANT.**

- 41 New York (RM)
- (1 100-111165) [redacted] (1 100-133378) [redacted]
- (1 158-37) [redacted]
- (1 122-939) [redacted]
- (1 100-26018) (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (1 100- ) (CP, NYD, ROCKLAND COUNTY)
- (1 100-48663) (IRVING POTASH) (1 100- ) [redacted]
- (1 100-84275) (BILL PATTERSON) (1 100- ) [redacted]
- (1 100- ) (PROGRESSIVE LABOR GROUP) who works at Ford Plant, Mahwah, N.J.)
- (1 100- ) [redacted]
- PROGRESSIVE LABOR GROUP on 4/26/62)
- (1 100-140536) [redacted] (1 100-7629) (NAACP)
- (1 100-84935) (COMINFIL RAILROAD INDUSTRY) (1 100-139834) (COMINFIL NALC)
- (1 100-109560) [redacted]
- (1 100- ) [redacted]
- (1 100-93296) [redacted]

Block Stamp

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SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_ FILED \_\_\_\_\_

JUN 3 1962

FBI-NEW YORK

WATERS [signature]

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OAC:maj  
(48)

100-80638-1944

NK 100-46498

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b7D

COPIES (CONTINUED):

(1 100-102794)	[REDACTED]
(1 100-138651)	[REDACTED]
(1 100- )	[REDACTED]
(1 100-19141)	(A. PHILIP RANDOLPH)
(1 100- )	[REDACTED]
(1 100-81675)	(CP, USA, PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
(1 100-128814)	(CP, NYD, ORGANIZATION)
(1 100-80641)	(CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
(1 100-128817)	(CP, NYD, MEMBERSHIP)
(1 100-80638)	(CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
(1 100-128821)	(CP, NYD, FACTIONALISM)
(1 100-87211)	(CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)
(1 100-128815)	(CP, NYD, NEGRO QUESTION)
(1 100-80640)	(CP, USA, NEGRO QUESTION)
(1 100-133903)	(COMINFIL MASS ORGANIZATIONS)
(1 100-132491)	(CP, NYD, RAILROAD REGION)
(1 100- )	(COMINFIL RR CLERKS AND FREIGHT HANDLERS)
(1 100-31091)	(CP, USA, COMINFIL LABOR UNIONS)
(1 100-132430)	(CP, NYD, INDUSTRIAL DIVISION)
(1 100-128809)	(CP, NYD, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
(1 100-89590)	(CP, USA, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
(1 100- )	(CP, USA, MEETING PLACES)
1 Detroit (100- )	( "LABOR TODAY", Suite 5, 12065 Wyoming, Detroit) (Info) (RM)
1 New Haven (100- )	[REDACTED] (Info) (RM)
5 Newark	[REDACTED]
(1 100-35539)	[REDACTED]
(1 100-32233)	(LEW MOROZE)
(1 100-19491)	(PAT TOOHEY)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

DATE: 6/8/62

FROM : SA ROBERT O. JOHNSON (42)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP  
IS-C

Identity of Source

[Redacted]

Description of info

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Date Received

5/15/62

Original Located

[Redacted]

A copy of informant's report follows:

- [Redacted]
- 1 - 100-136138 [Redacted]
- 1 - 100-67670 [Redacted]
- 1 - 100-27452 (BOB THOMPSON) (415)
- 1 - 100-142606 [Redacted]
- 1 - 100- [Redacted]
- 1 - 100-129629 (BILL ALBERTSON) (414)
- 1 - 100-139166 [Redacted]
- 1 - 100-7518 (NATL. COUNCIL OF SOVIET AMER. FRIENDSHIP) (41)
- 1 - 100-67344 [Redacted]
- 1 - 100-13436 [Redacted]
- 1 - 97-169 ("THE WORKER") (415)
- 1 - 100-139834 (NEGRO AM. LABOR COUNCIL(NALC)) (41)
- 1 - 100-2935 (COMINFIL TWU) (413)
- 1 - 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH) (414)
- 1 - 100-102794 [Redacted]
- 1 - 100-147372 ("PROGRESSIVE LABOR") (413)
- ① - 100-80638 (415)

b6  
b7C

ROJ:poc  
(18) *poc*

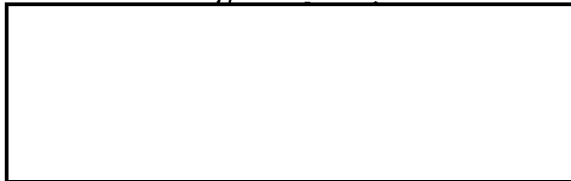
*100-80638-1945*

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....  
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....  
JUNE 8, 1962  
FBI - NEW YORK  
*[Signature]*  
415

[redacted] \$4.00 for past CP dues and \$1.00 for the fund drive.

[redacted] also told [redacted] that there was going to be a meeting on 6/14/62. She said that this is to be a meeting of Spanish speaking people and is to be held at Adelphi Hall, NYC at 8:00 PM. She said that the CP is trying to organize a Spanish "left-wing" paper in New York. She said that if [redacted] knows of anyone who is Spanish speaking to have them attend this meeting. She said that they need writers and other people interested in newspaper work.

[redacted] that he should not discuss this with [redacted] because then the "Progressive Labor" group might try to pack the meeting with their people.



TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)  
FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-4284E)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

DATE: 6/20/62

Date received <b>5/16/62</b>	Informant (name or symbol number) <b>[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past</b>	Received by <b>SA [redacted]</b>
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person     by telephone     by mail     orally     recording device     written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Dictated \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Transcribed \_\_\_\_\_

Authenticated by Informant \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Report  
**5/16/62**

Date(s) of activity  
**5/14/62**

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Brief description of activity or material

**Meeting of NJCP State leadership.**

File where original is located if not attached

[redacted]

Remarks:

- 15 - New York (RM)
  - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
  - (1 - 100-84995) (GUS HALL)
  - (1 - 100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON)
  - (1 - 100-559) (JESUS COLON)
  - (1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS)
  - (1 - 100-333090) [redacted]
  - (1 - 100-79303) [redacted]
  - (1 - 100-98781) (WOMEN FOR PEACE)
  - (1 - 100-128814) (CP, NYD, ORGANIZATION)
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
  - (1 - 100-128817) (CP, NYD, MEMBERSHIP)
  - (1 - 100-80644) (CP, USA, YOUTH)
  - (1 - 100-74560) (CP, USA, FUNDS)
  - (1 - 100- ) (MANHATTAN COUNTY)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100- ) (TOM NABRIED) (Info) (RM)
- 24 - Newark
  - (1 - 100-19491) (PAT TOOHEY)
  - (1 - 100-25417) [redacted]
  - (1 - 100-28813) [redacted]
  - (1 - 100-45751) [redacted]
  - (1 - 100-32233) (LEW MOROZE)
  - (1 - 100-32846) [redacted]
  - (1 - 100-36629) [redacted]

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SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_ INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_ FILED \_\_\_\_\_  
JUN 21 1962  
FBI NEW YORK  
[Handwritten signatures and initials]

COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 1A

OAC:mdd  
(40)

415

NK 100-4284E

COPIES CONTINUED:

24 - Newark

- (1 - 100-38857)
- (1 - 100-30926)
- (1 - 100-31894)
- (1 - 100-45304)
- (1 - 100-33259)
- (1 - 100-46009) (CORE)
- (1 - 100-43600) (SANE)
- (1 - 157-354) (CORE)
- (1 - 100-4284A) (FUNDS)
- (1 - 100-4284-7S-1) (ESSEX COUNTY)
- (1 - 100-4284-7T-1) (HUDSON COUNTY)
- (1 - 100-4284-4P-1) (PASSAIC COUNTY)
- (1 - 100-4284-4M-1) (MERCER-HUNTERDON COUNTY)
- (1 - 100-34333) (WOMEN FOR PEACE)
- (1 - 100-40535) (WOMEN FOR PEACE OF OCEAN-MONMOUTH COUNTIES)



b6  
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OAC:mad  
(40)

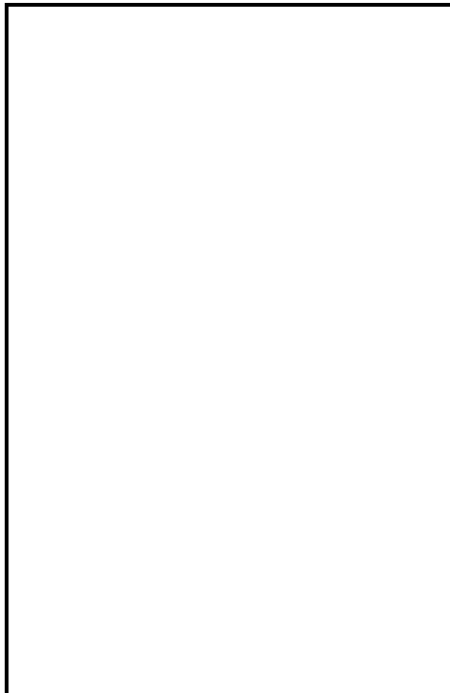




NK 100-4284E

May 16, 1962

There was a meeting of the state leadership of the New Jersey COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) at the home of [redacted] on Monday night, May 14, 1962. There were [redacted] people present at this meeting:



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PAT TOOHEY announced that the reason for his testimonial dinner was to provide an umbrella for the real purpose of the gathering--namely, to call together as many loyal CP people in New Jersey as possible to discuss and bring up to date information on what has happened to the CP in the past year regarding the Supreme Court Decision. A second reason for the gathering is to gather funds for the CP. PAT said that for some time there have been only sporadic club meetings, with no regular dues collections, fund gatherings, etc., but the large gathering at his testimonial dinner will help correct this situation by bringing everyone together. Those who come will learn that the CP is still alive and operating. TOOHEY said that each county delegate should determine how many from his county will attend and report this number. [redacted] said that he expected six to eight people from his county. He said that [redacted] agreed to attend this dinner; but when he heard that GUS HALL from the CP National Office would speak, he threw up an argument of security, saying he would not attend the dinner, but he was

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b7C

NK 100-4284E

willing to buy the tickets anyhow. [redacted] reported that eight to ten people from Essex would attend the dinner. PAT TOOHEY said that he expected about fifteen Puerto Ricans from Paterson to attend, and he further stated that he had recently visited the Trenton area, and three of the egg farmers might attend if they can find someone to watch over their brooders. [redacted] said that three would attend from her club. [redacted] said that four would attend from his club. [redacted] said that five would attend from her club.

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GUS HALL is supposed to be the main speaker for the dinner, and WILLIAM PATTERSON from the CP National Office will also speak. JESUS COLON is also supposed to be present at the dinner. It was said that a Negro male who is a district organizer from Philadelphia and who was instrumental in getting PAT TOOHEY in the CP would probably attend.

PHIL BART remarked that up until now the CP has been holding its own. He said that on one hand the picture is not too good, but on the other hand the CP can move ahead. He said that "we the national" were discussing among themselves the possibility that eight or ten comrades would be arrested as a result of the CP's refusal to obey the Supreme Court decision, but so far only two have been arrested--namely, GUS HALL and BEN DAVIS. BART said that at this time he would go further and say there will probably be more arrests, but he said these arrests are to be expected. Regarding his belief that the CP can move ahead, BART said he felt this way because many organizations against the Mc Carran Act have been formed, such as the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the Congress on Racial Equality, and Women for Peace, and these organizations know that the laws directed against the CP could well be directed against them some day. BART said the people in these groups have fought against reactionaries for peace. BART referred to those communists who in the past year have spoken to about 50,000 students in various American colleges. BART said that such speaking has never happened before, and it is a good sign for the CP. He said that BEN DAVIS had spoken to a group of students in New Jersey who, when pressured by their school not to let DAVIS speak, went out and hired a hall in order that he could speak. He also referred to GUS HALL's speeches before large groups. BART said that with such demonstrations of feeling by so many people, the reactionaries have not been able to arrest CP people as fast as they would like, and the reactionaries must find other ways to attack the CP. BART mentioned that the CP had made mistakes and that it was natural for the Party to make mistakes, but he said "we the national" want to know how, when, where to improve the clubs,

NK 100-4284E

the collection of dues, the fund drives, etc. BART said that many of us are old and can no longer do all that we would like to do, so the National Committee has discussed the possibility of getting younger comrades and having young leaders under old CP direction. BART said the national also felt the CP could still recruit.

[redacted] remarked on BART's talk. She said that despite the fact that her club had recruited two people, BART's remarks about recruitment were full of wind. She said many people were reluctant to join; they would join other organizations but not the CP.

[redacted] made several remarks concerning BART's talk:

1. [redacted] mentioned the reluctance of the rank and file to attend regular meetings, referring to comrades in his club who would not attend meetings, especially one who never refused to attend a meeting but also made all sorts of excuses why he was not present at meetings. [redacted] said this comrade was one of the factors in causing [redacted] club to meet irregularly. He said this comrade also had the dues records which he had destroyed, thereby prohibiting an accurate account of dues. [redacted] estimated that the members of his club are six months behind in dues.

2. [redacted] referred to youth in the CP and referred to one comrade who quit several times but always recontacted the Party and resumed some form of activity because she did not know any other group like the CP. [redacted] said this comrade would not work with older comrades but preferred working with the young people she knows, because the atmosphere is more friendly and she enjoys them.

LEW KOROZE remarked about the situation in Essex County and primarily in the State Secretariat, saying that he now holds several jobs and he cannot get help on them. KOROZE said he approached several people for help or to let them take over some of these jobs, but all he got was a shrug. KOROZE said if there is a letter to be written he does it and any other activities to perform he does them. He said that many counties have been neglected because there is no guidance from the state leadership, and he said Hudson County was one such county. KOROZE felt that something must be done in this respect. He said he could no longer hold these various jobs because he must get a full time job making a living. KOROZE proposed that his problem be discussed by the

NK 100-4284E

National Office and that a group come to New Jersey and sit down and work something out.

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b7c

[redacted] said that now that her daughter is married she can take a more active part in state work.

PHIL BART made some more remarks. He said that many of these gripes had come up in the past, six or eight months ago, and he felt that these gripes were nothing new. He said that we cannot do everything because we wind up by doing nothing. He said we must choose one job, one goal, and achieve it, even though other goals may suffer. He said that in the 1930s the Party set one goal of working in Harlem. He said the Harlem work was a concentration of effort in which the CP shifted forces to Harlem and went out for recruiting and thereby got results, even though other aspects of Party work suffered.

Before the meeting adjourned, another meeting of the state leadership was scheduled for May 28, 1962, at the home of LEW MOROZE. The agenda for the meeting will be a further discussion of organization.

TO: SAC, NEW YORK  
FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-4284E)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

DATE: 6/29/62

Date received <b>5/29/62</b>	Received from (name or symbol number) <b>[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past</b>	Received by SA <b>[redacted]</b>
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person     by telephone     by mail     orally     recording device     written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Transcribed \_\_\_\_\_

Authenticated by Informant \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Report

**5/29/62**

Date(s) of activity

b6  
b7C  
b7D

**5/25/62**

Brief description of activity or material

**Testimonial Dinner for PAT TOOHEY**

File where original is located if not attached

[redacted]

Remarks:

- 11-New York (RM)
  - (1-97-169 PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS, INC.)
  - (1-100-84275 WILLIAM PATTERSON)
  - (1-100-84995 GUS HALL)
  - (1-100-16785 JAMES JACKSON)
  - (1-100-9595 WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
  - (1-100-559 JESUS COLON)
  - (1-100-74560 CP, USA, FUNDS)
  - (1-100-134384 [redacted])
  - (1-100-80638 CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
  - (1-100-147907 [redacted])

- 5-Philadelphia (RM)
  - (1-65-1686 TOM NABRIED)
  - (1-100- [redacted])

b6  
b7C

ATTENDED TESTIMONIAL FOR PAT TOOHEY, NEWARK, N.J., 5/25/62

- 2-San Juan (RM)
  - (1-100- [redacted])

(1-100- [redacted])

ATTENDED U. OF PA., PRESENT AT TOOHEY'S TESTIMONIAL 5/25/62

LBS., MEMBER OF CP IN PUERTO RICO WHO ATTENDED TESTIMONIAL DINNER FOR PAT TOOHEY IN NEWARK, N.J., 5/25/62

(1-100- [redacted])

ACCOMPANIED W/F ABOVE

(COPIES CON'T ON PAGE 1a)

OAC: aas  
(37)

100-80638-1947

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 29 1962	
FBI-NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten signatures and initials over stamp]*

NK 100-4284E

COPIES (CON'T)

19-Newark

(1-100-19491 PAT TOOHEY)

(1-100-32233 LEW MOROZE)

(1-100-36629

(1-100-43745

(1-100-32846

(1-100-35539

(1-100-38837

(1-100-30926

(1-100-31894

(1-100-25417

(1-100-35106

(1-100-38134

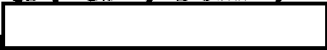
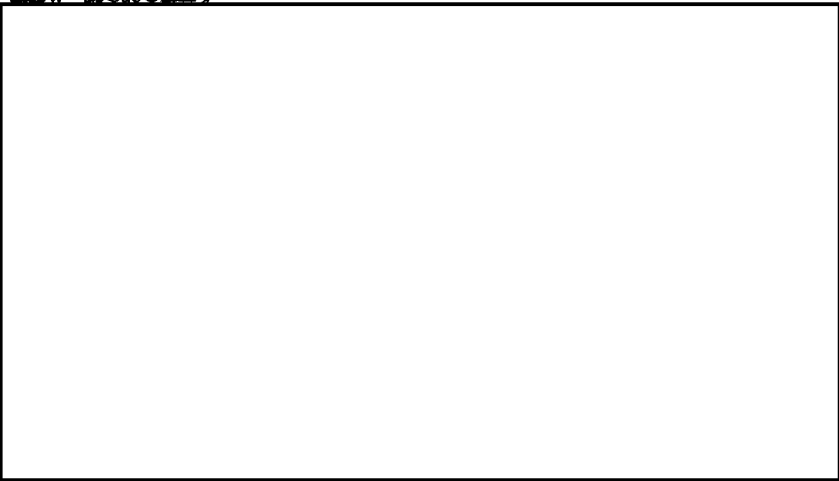
(1-100-46529

(1-100-45751

(1-100-

(1-100-4284A CP. USA. FUNDS)

(1-100-



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May 29, 1962

A testimonial dinner was given for PAT TOOHEY on Friday, May 25, 1962, at the Ukrainian Home, 723 $\frac{1}{2}$  South 14th Street, Newark, New Jersey. The dinner got underway about 8:00 p.m. There were about 200 people present at this meeting, based on an estimate of the number standing and counting ten people per table. In the beginning it was not apparent that the COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) had an interest in the dinner, but as the activities, introductions, and speeches progressed, it was obvious that many CP members were present and were honoring one of their fellow members. Those present clapped heartily for most all of the talks and testimonials. Some present in the audience gave testimonials from the floor. Free copies of "The Worker" were given out and everyone present was encouraged to read "The Worker". One of the speakers, WILLIAM PATTERSON, announced that if all readers of "The Worker" got at least one new subscriber to "The Worker", the new subscriptions would guarantee "The Worker's" continued existence. About \$1,070 was collected at the dinner, an amount realized in addition to the sale of tickets. It is believed that the \$1,070 went to "The Worker".

The first activity was the dinner itself, after which LEW MOROZE, of the New Jersey CP, acted as chairman of the gathering and introduced the speakers. The following people from New York were recognized:

GUS HALL, one of the main speakers who was introduced by LEW MOROZE. HALL received a big hand from the audience. He addressed the audience as "Comrades and Friends" when making his speech.

WILLIAM PATTERSON, from the National Office of the CP, USA, who also spoke.

JAMES JACKSON, from the National Office of the CP, USA, who was introduced by LEW MOROZE as Editor of "The Worker". JACKSON sent a telegram to the dinner but showed up also.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE, from the National Office of the CP, USA, who spoke briefly.

JESUS COLON, who gave a short talk and also introduced a CP member from Puerto Rico. The individual from Puerto Rico who was introduced by COLON was:

NK 100-4284E

[REDACTED]

peace and predicted that the Puerto Rican people would one day be free and independent. He invited PAT TOOHEY to Puerto Rico, saying that TOOHEY would always have a home there.

Some people from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who attended were:

TOM NABRIED, a colored male and CP organizer. NABRIED spoke about TOOHEY's CP service in the Philadelphia area years ago, and he said that TOOHEY served there without pay from the CP. NABRIED gave TOOHEY a gift.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] She was overheard talking about how bad the progressive movement was in Philadelphia, but she said there were new youth groups going in the Haverford section and at the University of Pennsylvania. This girl apparently came with the unidentified white male listed next. She sat with him all evening holding his hand and hugging and kissing him.

[REDACTED]

apparently came with the unidentified white female immediately above. He wore several buttons on his coat, of which one was some sort of a youth button, color blue and white, round, with a center design of two inverted Y's, one partially superimposed over the other and stretching from top to bottom of the button.

The following individuals from New Jersey were recognized:

PAT TOOHEY, of the New Jersey CP.

LEW MOROZE, of the New Jersey CP.

[REDACTED] of the New Jersey CP.



[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

accompanied by her husband.

[REDACTED] from Essex County, New Jersey.

[REDACTED] from Hudson County, New Jersey. [REDACTED]

read a prepared speech, saying he was talking for northern New Jersey in praising PAT TOOHEY.

[REDACTED] President of the Newark Branch of the NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL, who was brought by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who was introduced as chief cook.

[REDACTED]

members of the New Jersey CP.)

[REDACTED] of the New Jersey CP.

[REDACTED] of the New Jersey CP.

[REDACTED]

tables. [REDACTED] gave a long biography on TOOHEY and became very emotional in reviewing TOOHEY's past life.

[REDACTED]

songs like "Talking Union". He sat with [REDACTED] and was apparently a friend of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

This man gave a short talk about TOOHEY.

[REDACTED]

NK 100-4284E

Everyone present gave some money. LEW MOROZE gave a collection speech. [redacted] gave about \$240 for people she said could not come. There appeared to be no pledges - everyone either gave cash or wrote a check.

Following the supper, when LEW MOROZE called the group to order, [redacted] (mentioned above) gave a biography on TOOHEY. Then the unidentified man from the farm area (mentioned above) gave his comments. Then [redacted] read his speech, and so on. GUS HALL reviewed personal anecdotes from TOOHEY's life. WILLIAM PATTERSON spoke about how TOOHEY had fought for Negro rights in the 1930's and how TOOHEY was one of the founders of the old Negro Labor Committee.

PAT TOOHEY reviewed how his testimonial dinner came about, recalling how he was leaving a funeral one day and someone remarked how bad it was that people had to wait until they die before being honored. Thus, TOOHEY is being honored now while he is living. TOOHEY paid honor to his wife, saying that without his wife's help, he could not have done the things he did. TOOHEY gave a long talk. He reviewed the position of the CP in the world today, saying that one day the Party would win back those people who had left it.

Following TOOHEY's talk, the gathering ended. Telegrams from California, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other places were received by the testimonial dinner.

\* \* \*

June 15, 1962

The individual in the photograph of a white male described as [redacted] is identical to the unidentified

[redacted]  
TOOHEY on May 25, 1962 at the Ukrainian Home, 723 1/2 South 14th Street, Newark, New Jersey.

\* \* \*

Informant identified the photo of [redacted] (NK 100-46529) as one of the unidentified people from New Jersey. A statement on this identification was taken and is included in this memo.

NK 100-4284E

Informant also tentatively identified on 6/15/62 photos of [redacted] and as [redacted]. No statements on these identifications were taken because informant was not sure of the identifications.

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It is requested that a 100-dead file be opened on [redacted] SM - C, as a repository for current and possible future references on this person. Informant advised that [redacted] was unperturbed at being at a communist gathering, and informant said that [redacted] indicated he had been present at other communist gatherings, although informant could not positively make this statement.

It is requested that a 100 file be opened on UNSUB; [redacted]

[redacted]

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, BALTIMORE [redacted] DATE: 6/31/62

FROM: SA [redacted]

b6  
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b7D

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED BY SI

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furnished	Agent	Location
[redacted]	5/6/62	5/15/62	[redacted]	[redacted]

( Written )

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED.

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

"Baltimore, Maryland  
May 8, 1962

"At approximately 3:00 p.m., Sunday, May 6, 1962, [redacted] Communist Party Youth, picked up [redacted] C. P. Youth representing Progressive Youth Organizing Committee (P.Y.O.C.) in the Baltimore-Washington District, at the Greyhound Bus Terminal at Howard and Centre Streets. The two comrades proceeded to [redacted] car which was used to carry them to the home of GEORGE MEYERS, C.P. district chairman. Upon arriving at the MEYERS' home they were met by GEORGE and his family. After hellos, GEORGE, [redacted] and [redacted] sat down to talk.

[redacted] told about her spending the entire day Saturday

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- cc's:
- 5 - New York (RM) [redacted]
  - 100- [redacted]
  - 100- PYOC
  - 100- CP MEMBERSHIP
  - 100- CP YOUTH
  - 100- [redacted]
  - 1 - WFO (RM) [redacted]
  - 100- [redacted]
  - 10 - Baltimore [redacted]

- 100-18684 [redacted]
- 100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS
- 100-12412 [redacted]
- 100-8306 [redacted]
- 100-22115 [redacted]
- 100-20768 [redacted]
- 100-22004 [redacted]
- 100-12170 [redacted]
- 100-12244 CP MEMBERSHIP
- 100-12244 CP EDUCATION

GOS:sld  
(16)  
*sld*

SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
INDEXED  
FBI-NEW YORK  
*Waters*  
100-80638-1948

[redacted]

May 5, 1962 in Washington, D.C. with [redacted] a friend of GEORGE's. She told about hearing of the [redacted] rally held in Washington on Friday night and of unpleasant reports about the Student Peace Union convention held at Antioch College recently. She said that her purpose in coming south was to visit Washington and Baltimore to see how things are shaping up. [redacted] said that he had spoken to [redacted], but nothing could be arranged for Youth on that particular day. He said that he had contacted [redacted] and [redacted] who wanted to talk to [redacted]. He said that he had no luck with [redacted] who stood him up every time they made an appointment to see each other. [redacted] said that there wasn't too much Youth activity as far as the Party goes because of his working the evening shift all the time and of the difficulties in meeting with Youth very often. He said that he communicated with [redacted] quite often, but [redacted] were hard to get a hold of. He said that he was still working on [redacted] to get some Youth from East Baltimore.

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"When GEORGE asked [redacted] how things were going in New York, she told of P.Y.O.C.'s expanding as an independent organization in leftist circles. She said that the organization was receiving quite a bit of publicity as a coordinating group. She said that P.Y.O.C. publicity was showing it as an independent group and not actually an organ of the Communist Party. [redacted] being groomed as a speaker at colleges and universities as a Communist Youth. She said that this was in response to requests for C.P. Youth speakers on the campuses. [redacted] asked GEORGE if there were any new prospects of recruits for the Party. GEORGE said that several people had asked if the Party could give them any security in the event that they joined and were required to sign a loyalty oath. GEORGE explained that there was nothing the Party could do about exposure or difficulties encountered by members of the Party. He said that he had asked about such situations in New York, but received no answers. He said that he would ask again when he goes up next Thursday for the meeting. [redacted] asked GEORGE if he had heard about the Party's new recruitment program. GEORGE said that he had heard mentions of it, but did not know the provisions of it. [redacted] said that the Party wanted to recruit 300 Youths in the next six months. She said that anyone was acceptable

[REDACTED]

whose mentality would not cause disruptions and who was not an agent or informer. [REDACTED] said that he felt that anyone who willingly wished to join the Party should be aware of the repercussions that could result from informers and through loyalty oaths, and if such is the case, let them join. [REDACTED] continued to talk about the growing interest in the Party and Marxism. She told about an open Party Youth group that will study Marxism and have a mimeographed publication. She said that the group will be openly identified as C.P. Youth and new recruits would be expected from the Youth attracted to the group. [REDACTED] and GEORGE then began to talk about Washington and the people they knew there and the potential for Youth organization. GEORGE told about the [REDACTED] meeting being upset by the Nazis and the Trotskyites. The three comrades talked until dinner was served. "

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This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

**TO:** SAC, NEW YORK (100-139834)  
**FROM:** SAC, NEWARK (100-44823)  
**RE:** COMINFIL NALC  
IS - C

**DATE:** 7/3/62

Date received <b>6/12/62</b>	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past.	Received by [redacted]
---------------------------------	--	---------------------------

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person     by telephone     by mail     orally     recording device     written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Dictated \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Transcribed \_\_\_\_\_

Authenticated by Informant \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Report  
**6/12/62**

Date(s) of activity  
**6/10/62**

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Brief description of activity or material

**Negro caucus meeting NYCP.**

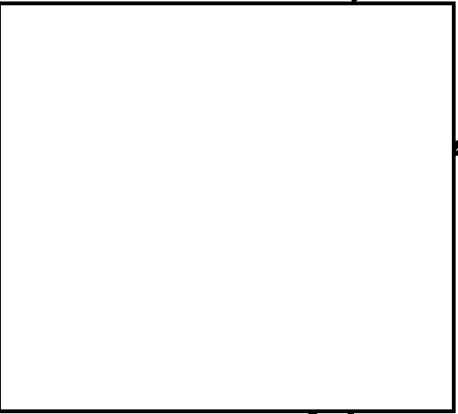
File where original is located if not attached

[redacted]

Remarks:

- 27 - New York RM
- 1 - 100-135084
- 1 - 100-84275
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-

[redacted]  
(WILLIAM PATTERSON)



- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-19141
- 1 - 100-23825
- 1 - 100-102794
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-118174
- 1 - 100-

(A. PHILIP RANDOLPH)  
(BEN DAVIS)

[redacted]  
in NALC office)

[redacted] fired  
from NALC by  
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

100-80638-1949

Block Stamp

SERIALIZED FILED

JUL 9 1962

NEW YORK

Waters John

(continued on page 1-A)

OAC:MJ  
(30)

V

NK 100-44823

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1 - 100-

1 - 100-138651

1 - 100-143711

1 - 100-128314

1 - 100-128814

1 - 100-80641

1 - 100-128817

① - 100-80638

1 - 100-128821

1 - 100-128809

1 - 100-89590

1 - 100-133903

1 - 100-132430

1 - 100-128815

1 - 100-80640



(CP NYD, Funds)

(CP, NYD, Organization)

(CP, USA, Organization)

(CP, NYD, Membership)

(CP, USA, Membership)

(CP, NYD Factionalism)

(CP, NYD Strategy in Industry)

(CP, USA, Strategy in Industry)

(CP, NYD, Cominfil Mass Orgs.)

(CP, NYD, Industrial Division)

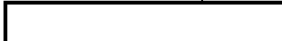
(CP, NYD, Negro Question)

(CP, USA, Negro Question)

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b7D

3 - Newark

1 - 100-35539



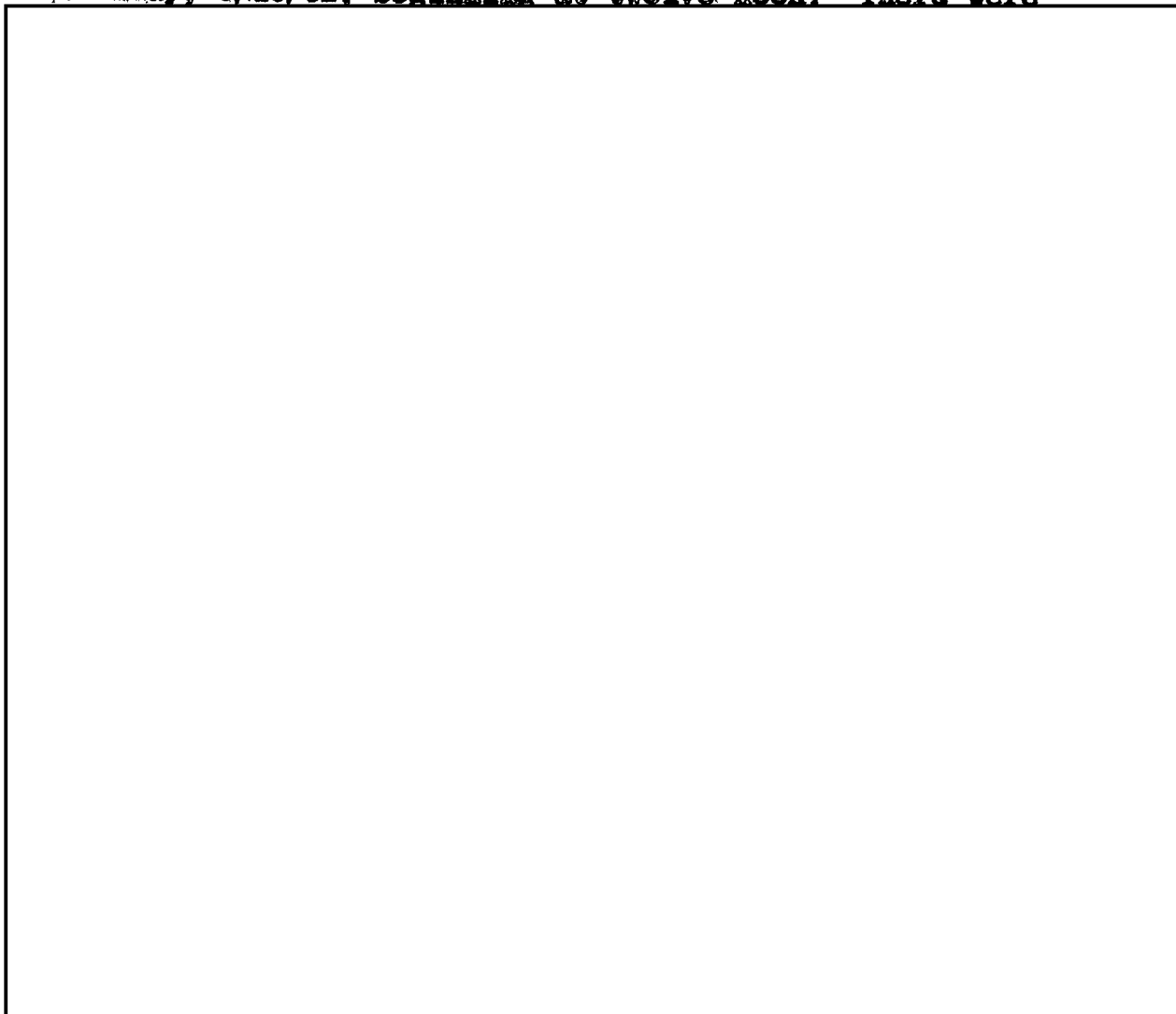


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NK 100-44823

6/12/62

There was a meeting of the Negro caucus consisting of members of the CP who are members of the NAACP at the [redacted] New York, on Sunday, 6/10/62, beginning at twelve noon. There were



NK 100-44823

PATTERSON was chairman of the meeting. He had a copy of a memorandum by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, President of the NALC, which was sent out to members of the NALC, National Executive Board, encouraging them to stop a newsletter of the New York Chapter of the NALC; this newsletter apparently called "New York Chapter NALC Newsletter." PATTERSON also had a copy of this newsletter. He read the memorandum, a three-page affair, which criticized two articles in the newsletter. One article concerned the steel workers' settlement and the other article concerned trade unions in Africa and was critical of [redacted] for talking to a man from the United States named [redacted] who was described as having gone to Africa to sabotage the organization of an African trade union association. RANDOLPH said in his memorandum that the articles were communist propaganda and before RANDOLPH permits the NALC to become a tool of the CP, he will disband the NALC. He said the first article concerning the steel settlement was a series of lies and the writer had no basis for evaluating the steel settlement. Regarding the other articles, RANDOLPH said that there was no proof that [redacted] had sold out the African trade unions and the article did not know what it was talking about. RANDOLPH's memorandum said that those individuals responsible for the newsletter had been kicked out of the NALC and RANDOLPH's memorandum went on to set down the principles of the NALC, saying that the NALC was not organized to be a trade union itself, did not evaluate labor contracts, and furthermore RANDOLPH said that [redacted] the steel workers' leader, was his friend.

When finishing his discussion of the memorandum, PATTERSON asked for comments and a lot of discussion followed. [redacted] stated he felt that RANDOLPH was right in his memorandum and he felt the articles should have never been printed in the newsletter. Everyone agreed with [redacted] PATTERSON said this was the second time a situation like this happened in the NALC. He said that once before RANDOLPH had accused the CP of hurting the NALC and PATTERSON said he wrote to RANDOLPH that the CP was not hurting the NALC and that the CP had instructed its members in the NALC to support RANDOLPH's policies. PATTERSON said that he and BEN DAVIS of the CP, National Office, will write another letter to RANDOLPH to assure him that the newsletter was not CP inspired and PATTERSON felt this letter should be given as much publicity as possible.

NK 100-44823

During the discussion of this meeting, PATTERSON mentioned that [redacted] and a woman named [redacted] who worked in the NALC office, were expelled from the CP as was [redacted] and he said that RANDOLPH had fired [redacted] a man named [redacted] and a man named [redacted]. At one time PATTERSON seemed to speak of [redacted] as though he were a CP member and at other times as though he were not a CP member. PATTERSON said the New York State CP Committee told PATTERSON to speak to [redacted] because [redacted] had been dropped from the CP but his wife remained a member of the CP. It was said that [redacted] of the Negro caucus had not been expelled from the CP and had been invited to this meeting but was unable to appear.

There were further discussions of the troubles of the NALC and apparently there has been a big shakeup of the NALC in New York. In the discussions at this meeting it was said that [redacted] had been Chairman of the NALC Entertainment Committee and that \$8,000 profit had been made by the NALC on a show they gave, but there were no persons accounting for the money and no one knows what happened to it. Reference is also made to the NALC headquarters in Brooklyn, and it was said no one knows how much rent is paid for these headquarters or why it is being retained when the NALC is going broke. [redacted] was placed temporarily in charge of the NALC in Brooklyn until elections can be held and permanent leaders elected. [redacted] made the statement that she was not invited to the National Executive Board meetings of the NALC and these meetings have been held irregularly.

PATTERSON said that the Negro caucus should support A. PHILIP RANDOLPH's program in the NALC, and they should take care to see that nothing concerning CP influence in the NALC comes up at the next NALC convention.

An effort was made at this meeting to select a hotel to recommend to the NALC as a place to hold its next convention, but nothing was decided. It was said that the caucus would try to hold at least one meeting per month and later on perhaps two meetings per month. No dues were collected at this meeting. PATTERSON mentioned that the drive for a \$1.50 minimum wage was part of the NALC program.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)      DATE: 7-6-62

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C  
(OO:NY)

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

The information appearing on the attached pages was orally furnished on June 28, 1962, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer [redacted]. This information was reduced to writing on June 29, 1962, and the original report is maintained in CGfile A)134-46-7587.

- 16-New York (RM)
- (2-100-80641) (CP, USA - Organization)
  - (1-100-56579) (PHIL BART)
  - (1-100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT)
  - (1-100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON)
  - (1-100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
  - (1-100-11158) (JAMES LUSTIG)
  - (1-100-48033) (IRVING POTASH)
  - (1-100-128255) [redacted]

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RWH:MDW  
(see page ii for additional copies)

100-80638-1950

WATERS

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 9 1962	
FBI-NEW YORK	
WATERS	

CG 100-33741

Copies: (Con't.)

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~~16~~-New York (RM)  
(1-100-74560 (CP, USA - Funds)  
(1-100-80638 (CP, USA - Membership)  
(1-100-81675 (CP, USA - Pamphlets and Publications)  
(1-100-81338 (CP, USA - Security Measures)  
(1-100-128814 (CP, New York State District - Organization)  
(1- 97-169 (Publishers New Press)  
(1-100- (Gus Hall - Ben Davis Defense Committee)  
2-Baltimore (RM)  
(1-100-12076 (GEORGE MEYERS)  
(1-100- (CP, Maryland District - Organization)  
4-Boston (RM)  
(1-100-22939 (LEW JOHNSON)  
(1-100- [REDACTED]  
(1-100- (CP, New England District - Education)  
(1-100-20779 (CP, New England District - Organization)  
2-Cleveland (RM)  
(1- 65-721 (ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)  
(1-100-17257 (CP, Ohio District - Organization)  
2-Detroit (RM)  
(1-100-13420 (CARL WINTER)  
(1-100-2050 (CP, Michigan District - Organization)  
2-Newark (RM)  
(1-100-2974 (PATRICK TOOHEY)  
(1-100- (CP, New Jersey District - Organization)  
3-Philadelphia (RM)  
(1-100- [REDACTED]  
(1-100- (CP, Eastern Pennsylvania District - Membership)  
(1-100- (CP, Eastern Pennsylvania District - Organization)  
2-Pittsburgh (RM)  
(1-100-14195 [REDACTED]  
(1-100- (CP, Western Pennsylvania District - Organization)  
2-St. Louis (RM)  
(1-100-6970 [REDACTED]  
(1-100-7781 (CP, Missouri District - Organization)

RWH:MDW

(see page iii for additional copies)

CG 100-33741

Copies: (Con't.)

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- 2-San Francisco (RM)  
(1-100- [redacted])  
(1-100-27747 (CP, Northern California District - Organization)
- 3-Seattle (RM)  
(1-100- [redacted])  
(1-100- (CP, Washington District - Funds)  
(1-100- (CP, Washington District - Organization)
- 5-Chicago  
(1-A) 134-46-7587)  
(1-100-24800 (LOU DISKIN)  
(1-100-18952 (CP, Illinois District - Membership)  
(1-100-18953 (CP, Illinois District - Organization)

*MDW*  
RWH:MDW  
(45)

June 26, 1962

At approximately 3:00 p.m., Sunday afternoon, June 24, 1962, about thirty representatives of the various Districts of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) convened at the Festival Restaurant, 40 East 26th Street, New York City. These individuals had previously attended a three-day national meeting of the CP, USA held in New York City under the guise of the Gus Hall - Ben Davis Defense Committee which had ended at approximately 2:00 p.m. that same date.

Originally, the above meeting was to be held at the National Office of the CP, USA, but the meeting place was changed at the last minute for security reasons. The restaurant in which the meeting was held was, in fact, closed but a Party representative had rented a hall in the back of this restaurant which was utilized as the meeting place.

The meeting was chaired by Phil Hart and among those in attendance and/or who participated were as follows:

Morris Childs, Chicago  
Lou Diskin, Chicago

[redacted]  
Betty Gannett, New York City  
James Jackson, New York City  
Arnold Johnson, New York City  
Loy Johnson, Boston

[redacted]  
Anthony Kuchmarek, Cleveland  
James Lustig, New York City  
Claude Lightfoot, Chicago  
George Meyers, Baltimore  
Irving Potash, New York City  
Roscoe Proctor, San Francisco

[redacted]  
Patrick Toohay, New Jersey

[redacted]  
Carl Winter, Detroit

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The meeting dealt mainly with discussions and plans of implementing the decisions rising out of the concluded three-day national meeting of the Party's leadership. There were also a number of pledges made by the various individuals related to recruiting or to action on the Party press drive.

[redacted] of Philadelphia briefly reported on recruiting in Philadelphia and noted that their program had made a good start.

[redacted] (last name unknown) from Boston commented that the CP there had started a Party school.

James Lustig reported on the status of "The Worker." In his comments, he noted that the present cost to operate "The Worker" was currently running \$260,000 a year with an annual deficit of \$150,000 resulting. He further noted that during the recent past there had been no appreciable increase in circulation of "The Worker. He was also critical of the type of language utilized in connection with material appearing in the publication.

James Jackson challenged Lustig on his comments concerning the publication "The Worker" and severely criticized him for his attitude. Later, during the course of the proceedings, Jackson was heard to say "Lustig is to be dumped." I

Lou Dishin of the Illinois District notified the group that efforts would be made to implement the Party's membership in Illinois by one third.

Betty Gannett commented on the progress which had been made in the New York District following the expulsion of the anti-Party left wing element.

[redacted] announced to the group that the Washington District had raised \$2,000 for the Gus Hall - Ben Davis Defense Committee.

Irving Petash reported that a statement on the trade union report made to the three-day national meeting would be sent to all Districts for their approval.



In general, there was dissatisfaction with the meeting and the manner in which it was organized. The biggest complaint was that not enough time was given in which to hold such an affair. Some people complained that there should have been a full day's session to discuss matters while others felt that it would have taken two days to discuss properly the details brought up.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO: SAC [redacted] DATE: June 20, 1962  
FROM: SA ROBERT C. NORTON  
SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED  
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted]	5/21/62	5/23/62	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

1 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED MAIL)	100-18684	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-20082	[redacted]
	100-12464	ORGANIZATION
5 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)	100-4267	COMINFIL USWA
ORGANIZATION, CP, USA	100-12510	STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY
YOUTH MATTERS	100-22557	MCDR
GUS HALL	100-12459	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
MEMBERSHIP		
HERBERT APTHEKER		

18 - Baltimore

[redacted]	GEORGE MEYERS
100-12076	[redacted]
100-12175	[redacted]
100-10584	[redacted]
100-20764	[redacted]
100-9583	[redacted]
100-12412	[redacted]
100-11386	[redacted]
100-11562	[redacted]
100-15185	[redacted]
100-22043	[redacted]

RCN:dfm  
(24)

NOTES  
100-80638-1951  
SEARCHED [initials] INDEXED [initials]  
SERIALIZED [initials] FILED [initials]  
JUL 1 3 1962  
FBI - NEW YORK  
Notes [signature]

[REDACTED]

"Baltimore, Maryland  
May 23, 1962

" On May 21, 1962, Maryland - D. C. Communist Party (CP) District Board members drove to Washington, D. C. from Baltimore, Maryland, in MEYERS' automobile. On route they discussed CP matters as follows:

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They left Baltimore at about 7:40 p.m.

MEYERS expressed concern that the Maryland CP Steel Caucuses had been inactive and was of the opinion that the cause of it was [REDACTED] Chairman of one of the caucuses. He said that people had been coming to him and indicating that they did not trust [REDACTED]

MEYERS said that it was his personal observation that [REDACTED] was trying to play one CP official against the other and he had heard rumors to the effect that [REDACTED] was playing Negro steelworkers against the whites and vice versa.

[REDACTED] had never come to him except with general criticism of Party policies.

He then added that even in the District Board there were a lot of things done that he did not agree with.

[REDACTED] complained that MEYERS was making decisions without consulting the District Board and on many occasions acting as a dictator. MEYERS replied that this was perhaps true but he was under pressure from CP Headquarters in New York.

MEYERS again complained about the lack of activity on the part of steel caucuses and pointed out that caucus members [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] had ceased all activity.

[REDACTED] then pointed out that the reason [REDACTED] had quit was because he was receiving "The Worker" openly through the mail after requesting [REDACTED] to stop sending it in that manner. He also pointed out that [REDACTED] who was to have been contacted by [REDACTED] and MEYERS, had had no contact from either of them in a long time.

[REDACTED] then pointed out that while MEYERS was in the Soviet

[redacted]

Union last Fall, he, [redacted] had arranged for a joint steel meeting but so far as he knew, none had been held since.

[redacted] then suggested that [redacted] that he and MEYERS visit [redacted] and that he, [redacted] would contact CP Steel members [redacted]

MEYERS then said that he wanted all the Steel Caucus members brought together in the meeting and after discussion it was decided that the meeting would be held June 3, 1962, at [redacted] home.

MEYERS then stated that at the recent National Executive Committee meeting in New York, GUS HALL, CP General Secretary, was made responsible for bringing 2500 CP youth members into the Party. He said the recruitment in the districts would be handled by District Organizers and locally [redacted] would be responsible.

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[redacted] then said that he knew nothing about youth and reminded them that [redacted] so far as he knew was still responsible for the recruitment of youth and organization of youth locally. He said that he knew there was criticism of [redacted] lack of organization but this could be traced back to the failure of the District Board to help [redacted]

[redacted] then said that there were some other things that were being done locally that he did not approve of, one of them being the fact that the Maryland Committee for Democratic Rights (MCDR) was sponsoring a public supper for [redacted] [redacted] the national representative of the National Committee which was opposed to the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). [redacted] said that as he understood it, the evening of May 26, 1962, [redacted] would be at Wilson's Restaurant at Pennsylvania and North Avenue in Baltimore in the company of the Executive Board of the MCDR, along with other people interested in [redacted] and his ideas. [redacted] said he felt such a public affair might frighten people away.

[redacted] then said that [redacted] Chairman of the MCDR, had arranged for the supper.

MEYERS then expressed great interest in the supper asking how

[redacted]

it had been organized, how many people would attend, and whether reservations had been made. [redacted] said he couldn't answer any of the questions.

MEYERS then stated that he disapproved of the supper and said that [redacted] will be coming to his, MEYERS', house to supper that night instead.

Upon inquiry from MEYERS, [redacted] on May 26, 1962, would be coming from Washington, D. C. by train arriving about 6:00 p.m. and would be picked up at the station by the Executive Board of the MCDR.

MEYERS again objected to such an arrangement saying that it was too public. [redacted] replied that this was [redacted] idea.

Upon inquiry from MEYERS, [redacted] then reviewed the names of the CP members who were on the Executive Board of the MCDR and attending MCDR meetings. MEYERS then asked whether the CP members met prior to the MCDR regular or Executive Board meetings. When [redacted] said no, MEYERS sharply criticized [redacted] stating that 95 per cent of the policies set by the MCDR should be determined by CP members prior to the MCDR meetings and that CP members should be ready in advance of any MCDR meeting to act according to Party policies. MEYERS said if the operation wasn't carried out in that manner, they might as well get out of the MCDR.

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MEYERS stated that the MCDR would never have been set up except for the CP and that the CP is responsible for it and had to keep it going and under control.

MEYERS then asked [redacted] why the MCDR could no longer hold meetings at 601 West 40th Street, Baltimore. [redacted] said that all he knew was that some woman's association in that area claimed that during the affair at which HERBERT APTHEKER spoke, it was announced that he was a communist, and secondly, the association stated that [redacted] was an atheist and lastly, they objected to the large number of Negroes coming to the meetings.

MEYERS asked [redacted] what he had done to counteract this attack. [redacted] said he had done nothing.

MEYERS then congratulated [redacted] upon his political activities

[redacted]

in the 4th City District and asked [redacted] if the time was right for the CP to openly move in the New Frontiers Democratic Club and try to pass out and obtain subscriptions for "The Worker." [redacted] replied that it was too soon and that he would make the move at the time he thought best. MEYERS agreed with him and left it up to [redacted]

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The three arrived in Washington, D. C. about 8:50 p.m."

This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.



NK 100-4284E

( Copies Continued: )

21 - Newark

1 - 100-19491  
1 - 100-38837  
1 - 100-35539  
1 - 100-34713  
1 - 100-32233  
1 - 100-32846  
1 - 100-20886  
1 - 100-37799  
1 - 100-23436  
1 - 100-25039  
1 - 100-38134  
1 - 100-46027  
1 - 100-36629  
1 - 100-30926  
1 - 100-31894  
1 - 100-25417  
1 - 100-36735  
1 - 100-45751  
1 - 100-4284A

(PAT TOOHEY)

(LEW MOROZE)

(Funds)

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NK 100-4284E

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6/7/62

There was a testimonial dinner given for PAT TOOHEY on Friday, 5/25/62, at the Ukrainian Hall, 723 $\frac{1}{2}$  South 14th Street, Newark, New Jersey. There were 130 or more people present at this dinner, including ten Negroes. Some of those recognized at this dinner were:

**PAT TOOHEY**

[Redacted]

**GUS HALL** (from the National Office of CP, USA)

**WILLIAM WEINSTONE**

**JAMES JACKSON**

**WILLIAM PATTERSON**

(above three from the National Office CP, USA)

**TOM NABRIED**

(CP organizer from Philadelphia)

**JESUS COLON**

[Redacted]

**LEW MOROZE**

[Redacted]

A male individual described as a CP leader from Puerto Rico.

LEW MOROZE was Master of Ceremonies. He made various introductions and gave an opening talk addressing the group as ladies and gentlemen and saying "We" are here to honor one of our people who gave his life to socialism and the fight for civil rights, and spent years in the Trade Union Movement and was a fighter for peace. MOROZE said this person was PAT TOOHEY and he said "PAT TOOHEY is a man we will never forget, neither shall he be forgotten by the Party." He described TOOHEY as someone who had been jailed for his ideas and for his fight in the Trade Union Movement. He said that in all of TOOHEY's troubles and trials with the reactionaries, TOOHEY's wife and family stood by him.

From his introduction of TOOHEY, MOROZE then made an appeal for funds for "The Worker." He addressed those present as "Friends" and went on to say that in order to keep "our paper" going, and to keep those present well informed, it was necessary to collect funds for the paper. He went on to say that "our paper" is just as important as "the Party" for it is part of "the Party" and it is "the organ of the Party." He said that fund collectors would pass among those present and he asked that everyone open his heart and give generously. Following the collection MOROZE announced that \$1074 had been collected and he said this money would be turned over to JAMES JACKSON and WILLIAM WEINSTONE.

There were communications from Puerto Rico, California, Detroit, Chicago, and Cuba, sending well wishes to TOOHEY.

JESUS COLON was introduced by MOROZE as "one of our people" who is a fighter for peace, for socialism, and who opposes the Mc Carran Act. COLON spoke addressing those present as My Companeros and he said he was glad to be present to honor a man like PAT TOOHEY who is the fighter for socialism and for the CP. COLON also said that he was against the Mc Carran Act and he hoped that people in the Party would succeed in getting this illegal act repealed and he ended by saying, "Long live the Communist Party."

There were remarks by LEW MOROZE in which he said that many years ago Spanish conquerors sailed from Spain in search of new territories for the King of Spain and one of these areas was Cuba. He said the Spaniards landed and

NK 100-4284E

proceeded to slaughter the Indians and Negroes there. He said the natives had no arms to match Spanish guns, but now we are in the 20th Century and the Cuban people have many good friends who furnish them with strong-arms. He said the natives have many friends in the White Russians, Czechs, Poles, and they make strong bows and arrows, and the conquerors were defeated in the Bay of Pigs.

[redacted] made some comments. He said the people of New Jersey are gathered to pay respects to a good man named PAT TOOHEY who was a fighter for peace, for civil rights, and was against discrimination against Negroes in the trade unions. [redacted] said that PAT TOOHEY was a man they could all be proud of, and PAT, although attacked many times by reactionary, disgruntled people, shrugged his shoulders more determined than ever to carry on the fight for socialism. [redacted] said that the people from his area, North Hudson say congratulations to PAT.

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LEW MOROZE introduced GUS HALL as one who was a victim of an indictment for failure to register as a communist. GUS recalled many occasions in the past when he had met TOOHEY and he spoke of TOOHEY's trade union work and his civil rights work.

LEW MOROZE introduced TOM NABRIED of Philadelphia as a friend of PAT TOOHEY's, a fighter for socialism, as a trade unionist, and who on many occasions had come in contact with TOOHEY.

NABRIED congratulated TOOHEY and gave him a present from friends in Philadelphia. NABRIED also congratulated TOOHEY's family, and went on to say that although those present were gathered to congratulate a man who fought for socialism and for the Party, they had failed to give credit to the women of the Party for without the women the men in the Party cannot function.

MOROZE introduced WILLIAM PATTERSON who recalled the infamous Trenton Six Trial. PATTERSON was introduced as one who had worked in the CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS and contributed his time to fighting the Trenton Six frameup.

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PATTERSON congratulated TOOHEY and the people gathered, and he recalled the days when he worked with TOOHEY in the CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS.

There was a youth from Philadelphia present who played a guitar and provided some entertainment. He sang the Puerto Rican National Anthem and he sang some trade

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No files are maintained on PAT TOOHEY's relatives; therefore, no dissemination is being done on these people and their names are not being indexed.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC (100-31723)

DATE: 7/10/62

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: CPUSA-ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

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On 6/29/62, [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally provided a written statement to SA [REDACTED]. This statement is maintained in [REDACTED].

- 2 - Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)
    - 1 - [REDACTED]
    - 1 - 100-12076 (GEORGE MEYERS)
  - 2 - Boston (REGISTERED MAIL)
    - 1 - (CPUSA-FUNDS)
    - 1 - [REDACTED]
  - 6 - Chicago (REGISTERED MAIL)
    - 1 - (CPUSA-FACTIONALISM)
    - 1 - (CPUSA-NEGRO QUESTION)
    - 1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
    - 1 - [REDACTED]
    - 1 - [REDACTED]
    - 1 - [REDACTED]
  - 2 - Cleveland (REGISTERED MAIL)
    - 1 - [REDACTED]
    - 1 - (HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES)
  - 3 - Detroit (REGISTERED MAIL)
    - 1 - (TOM DENNIS)
    - 1 - [REDACTED]
    - 1 - [REDACTED]
  - 2 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED MAIL)
    - 1 - [REDACTED]
    - 1 - [REDACTED]
  - 3 - Milwaukee (REGISTERED MAIL)
    - 1 - (CPUSA-YOUTH MATTERS)
    - 1 - (FRED BLAIR)
    - 1 - [REDACTED]
  - 35 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
    - 1 - (CPUSA-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
    - 1 - (CPUSA-LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)
- (SEE PAGE 1A)

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CJW:rdc  
(93)

100-80638

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 18 1962	
FBI-NEW YORK	

Waters

100-80638-1953

35 - New York (Cont'd)

- 1 - (CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - (CPUSA-NEGRO QUESTION)
- 1 - (CPUSA-ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - (CPUSA-PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)
- 1 - (CPUSA-STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- 1 - (CPUSA-YOUTH MATTERS)
- 1 - (PYOC)
- 1 - 100-56579 (PHIL BART)
- 1 - 100-145816 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-135304 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT)
- 1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)
- 1 - 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)
- 1 - 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-142371 [REDACTED]
- 1 - (JIM LUSTIG)
- 1 - 100-84275 (WILLIAM PATTERSON)
- 1 - 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - (BOB THOMPSON)
- 1 - 100-19430 (PAT TOOHEY)
- 1 - (JIM TORMEY)
- 1 - (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 2 - Newark (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 1 - 100-19491 (PAT TOOHEY)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Pittsburgh [REDACTED] (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 8 - San Francisco (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 1 - (CPUSA-LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)
- 1 - (POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
- 1 - (U.S. vs. CPUSA)
- 2 - [REDACTED] (1 - SF 158-14; 1 - SF 61-398)
- 1 - (DOROTHY HEALEY)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

(SEE PAGE 1B)

PH 100-31723

2 - Seattle (REGISTERED MAIL)

1 -

1 -

1 - Philadelphia(100-31723)

(Plus copies to 24 other pertinent PH files)

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PH 100-31723

"The Sat. morning session of the Communist Party of U.S. got under way at 10:00 AM. at 853 Broadway.

"The agenda was discussion on GUS HALL's report and his pamphlet on 'End The Cold War.'

"The following comrades were present:

1. GUS HALL
2. BEN DAVIS
3. PHIL BART
- 4 - [REDACTED]
- 5 - [REDACTED]
- 6 - [REDACTED]
- 7 - JIM LUSTIG
- 8 - JAMES JACKSON
- 9 - BOB THOMPSON
10. JACK SATCHEL
11. IRVING POTASH
- 12 - BETTY GANNETT
- 13 - [REDACTED]
- 14 - [REDACTED]
15. [REDACTED]
- 16 - [REDACTED]
17. [REDACTED]
- 18 - [REDACTED]
- 19 - [REDACTED]
- 20 TOM NABRIED
21. [REDACTED]
22. [REDACTED]
23. [REDACTED]
24. GEORGE MEYERS
25. TOM DENNIS
26. [REDACTED]
- 27 - [REDACTED]
28. DOROTHY HEALY
29. [REDACTED]
30. [REDACTED]
31. [REDACTED]
32. [REDACTED]
33. WM. PATTERSON
34. [REDACTED]
35. [REDACTED]
- 36 - JIM TORMEY
- 37 - PAT TOOHEY
38. [REDACTED]

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"39 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOTE

40 - [redacted]  
41 - [redacted]  
42 - [redacted]  
43 - [redacted]  
44 - [redacted]

45 - WILL WEINSTONE

46 - [redacted]  
47 - [redacted]  
48 - [redacted]  
49 - [redacted]

50 - [redacted]  
51 - FRED BLAIR

52 ARNOLD JOHNSON

53 - [redacted]  
54 - [redacted]  
55 - [redacted]

55. [redacted] white - white hair - about [redacted]  
was old

56 [redacted] - white - 6' tall - about [redacted] - wear  
glasses

57 - [redacted]  
58 - [redacted]  
59 - [redacted]  
60 - [redacted]  
61 - [redacted]

"Let me say that it is hard to give a description of all these people, as this reporter was not close, since it was a very large room and got the names when they came to the stand to speak.

"The Sat. morning session was chaired in the morning by GEORGE MEYERS and in the afternoon by [redacted] from Calif.

"The Saturday session was devoted entirely to discussion, based on HALL's Friday night speech.

[redacted] was the first speaker. He said, quite, 'Activity in Ohio very high. We have what is called "The Buzz-Saw Operation." We have been able to get 66 churches in Cleveland to adopt resolution against House Un-American Activity Committee. We have enlisted the aid of 275 churches in Northern Ohio.'

"Comrades the masses are against HUAC. The hearings recently held in Ohio were a good thing, in as much as it exposed a number of informers. This was good, because if it continues, the party will have the aid of HUAC, aiding them in exposing and getting rid of important and dangerous enemies of our party."

"An atmosphere was created where the informer felt they were doing something wrong by working with the Committee. Even the F.B.I. was angry because they were not consulted in the using of the Informers."

"This pinpoints the leadership being given by the party and the morale is very high in Ohio." unquote.

"BOB THOMPSON: BOB THOMPSON said the party's role in relationship to Trade Union, should be one of fighting for a shorter work week, now that MEANY and others have taken a stand. He called for the party and the Left to become a factor in establishing an important 'Left Trend' in the Trade Union Movement.

"DOT HEALEY: California. DOROTHY dealt with an analysis of the recently held Primaries in California. She said the role of the party in the primary and its role in the coming elections were,

- "1. Defeat the Ultra Right
- 2 - Increase Negro and Mexican American Representation.
3. Increase activity in Congress around the issues of Civil rights, peace and ect.

"FRED BLAIR: Wisconsin. BLAIR said the possibility of recruiting students was great. He lashed out however against the do nothing policy of the Communist Party members in the area. He called for the Party to start a campaign on naturalization in Wisconsin. He said this was easy since the state owned the land. He said, however, emphasis must be placed on state to utilize land in the interest of the people.

"ARNOLD JOHNSON. He called for a higher level of peace movement. He called for better use of peace literature.

"WM. PATTERSON: He said the economic phase of GUS' speech must be placed in the hands of as many trade unions, students and Professors as possible. He scolded the U.S. Government, saying that the Legislative Branch of the government block Civil Rights legislation that would implement the Supreme Courts on desegregation of schools in 1954. He said the Administration branch was making Promises, but not asking for implementations. He called for a demand to be made upon Pres. KENNEDY to issue a second Emancipation. The session than adjourned for lunch.

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"It reconvened around 2:00 p.m.

[redacted] of California was Chairman.

[redacted] was the first speaker. He said quote:

"'Comrades the youth have printed its program and its outlook. We will have some printed for the sections and districts.'

"'There are a number of problems facing party youth. In the first place there is not enough youth consinece on the part of the adults in the party.'

"'Every club still does not have relationship with youth. A large part of the party is still unaware of youth activity.'

"'There are new currents within the youth movement, and they're on the move. The young people of this nation are questioning this capitalist System. They want to know if our party has the answer, and com-rades we must have it.'

"'We must build Marxists orientated youth groups, there must be more youth clubs and divisions. We are now discussing building larger non-party Marxist youth groups.

"'We had a PYOC meeting last week end and we had the best representation from all over'

"'There are two (2) kinds of resistance to youth plan, (1) rigidity in recruiting and an attempt to head off the mass recruiting effort on part of youth, using fear

PH 100-31723

"for security as the reason. These things must stop."

IRVING POTASH spoke next. He called for an organized Left in the Trade Union Movement. He said unless this was done, there could be no break through.

[redacted] He said the party was not functioning in Mass. He said this was due in the main to a lack of no full time person. He said however the peace sentiment is high. We were able to raise \$2,000 toward the \$3M Worker quota and \$1169.00 toward a \$2000 goal for Defense.

"CLAUDE LIGHTFOOTE said the main problem facing our party is how to rebuild party in the Negro Community. On one hand he said there's the tendency to liquidate party, while others say you really can't build party at this period. Both measures must go. He hit out at Negro leaders who have red-baited, saying quote:

"One of the first pre-reqeste is to let the masses know our role today, our ideological concepts. We must do battle with. An example is, Negroes who say "How can we have the burden of being Red, when we have the burden of being Black " unquote.

"CLAUDE received a warm applause, he went on to say, the Negro could not win its fight in the U.S. without a strong Communist Party. In Sept. he said, he, JAMES JACKSON, BEN DAVIS and WM. PATTERSON were coming to every district to help recruit and rebuild the party in the Negro Community.

[redacted] Took exception with the question raised by IRVING POTASH, calling for re-establing of left forces within the trade union movement. He called for a re-examination of this question. This brought applause of approval from the audience.

[redacted] called for a strong fight against the outlawing of the party.

[redacted] said there were 77,000,000 people in poverty in this country, most of them in low paying jobs. He felt the party should concentrate on these people.

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[redacted] - Youth from New York - called for strong youth organizations all over the country. She said the youth movement in N. York was growing\_ she said a large number of youth have been recruited in N.Y.

[redacted] spoke, also disagreeing with POTASH on left groups within the Trade Unions.

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"It was now 5:45 - and there was to be a reception for [redacted] at 8:00. The meeting was adjourned until Sun. morning 10:00 A.M.

"All the people were invited to the reception\_ There was about, 100 delegates to the conference.

\* \* \* \* \*

Agent's Comments:

On 6/29/62, [redacted] advised the CP Conference above was held on Saturday, 6/23/62.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D.C.  
July 13, 1962

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA -  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late June, 1962, advised as follows:

A three day conference of National Communist Party (CP) leaders was held in New York City on June 22-24, 1962. The sessions of the national CP leaders conference were held under the name of the Gus Hall - Ben Davis Defense Committee. An enlarged meeting of the CP, USA National Negro Commission was also held in conjunction with the national CP leaders conference with those meetings being held on June 22 and 25, 1962. The report of these meetings follows.

On Friday, June 22, 1962, beginning at 10 a.m., there was an enlarged meeting of the CP, USA National Negro Commission held in the Board Room of CP Headquarters, West 26th Street, third floor. Representatives from various parts of the country were present for this meeting. The following persons were observed in attendance:

Jim Jackson  
Claude Lightfoot  
George Meyers

[Redacted]

Bob Thompson

[Redacted]

Ben Davis

[Redacted]

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[REDACTED]  
Tom Dennis, from Detroit

[REDACTED]  
William Patterson

[REDACTED]  
Gus Hall  
Betty Gannett  
Jack Stachel  
Arnold Johnson

[REDACTED]  
Tom Nabried

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The meeting opened at approximately 10:30 a.m. William Patterson, the Chairman, was not present at that time so the meeting was opened by Claude Lightfoot. Lightfoot indicated that there would be only one point on the agenda, namely, the report which would be given by him. He said that the remaining period would be given over to a discussion. Lightfoot also indicated that the proposed discussion could not be concluded on that day, so that it would be necessary to hold an additional meeting of this group on Monday morning (June 25, 1962).

No notes were taken on Lightfoot's report inasmuch as this report will be published in a few days. At that time, it will be available in its entirety.

Lightfoot's report essentially attempted to bring to the Party a new estimate of the Negro situation in America. It consisted of approximately 32 pages, and the concluding portion of the report outlined five concrete

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steps or demands for action to be raised by the Party in the coming period. These five points were:

1. An Executive Order calling for the abolition of discrimination in housing;
2. An Executive Order calling for the abolition of discrimination in all phases of American life;
3. Action against Congressional representatives elected in Jim Crow areas under illegal ballot conditions;
4. Action to implement the "Tennessee Supreme Court Decision";
5. Calling for the appointment of a Negro to the Cabinet without waiting for the creation of a Cabinet post.

Lightfoot indicated that an important portion of the report had not been written out but said that he would render this section verbally and in editing his report (for publication), it would be added. This section dealt with the building of the Party. He stated that he has had to contend with actions to liquidate the Party, with that action coming from members of the Party as well as forces existing outside the Party. He stated that we would not be able to build a mass Party under the present conditions, but that conditions exist for making significant gains throughout the country, especially in the Negro community.

Lightfoot stated that it was not terror or fear that impelled the Negro people to leave the Party, but rather our inability to effectively answer the question --

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"What assets does the Party offer?"

Lightfoot stated that the Negro people tended to raise the question which had been projected several years ago by Walt White and other Negro leaders, that we cannot add to the burden of being black, the burden of being red, and that unless we can effectively provide a logical and convincing answer to this, we would not make gains in the Negro community. Continuing, he said that the indispensable role of the Party in the fight for Negro rights must be emphasized.

Lightfoot urged that the building of the circulation of the magazine "Freedom Ways" be given central consideration.

Immediately after Lightfoot's report, this meeting was open to discussion from those present. The following persons spoke at this time:

Jim Jackson

Jackson dealt at great length with the magazine "Freedom Ways" explaining its value as a cultural arm; as a non-Marxist publication which had a great deal of popular appeal in offering to the Negro articles of various types by some outstanding spokesmen in the Negro Movement. He said it dealt with the question of the economic plight of the Negro in America.

Jackson next dealt, at great length, on another subject reporting statistics from various sources which showed that approximately 77 million people in America exist on sub-standard wages and under depressed conditions. He pointed out that the bulk of these people live in the South and of this number, a major proportion are Negroes.

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Jackson called attention to the fact that a recent book by Louis Lomax published by Harper Brothers quoted from a "Freedom Ways" article dealing with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

On the question of building the Party, Jackson pointed out that it was the margin of insecurity among the Negro people which rendered them vulnerable to attack and, therefore, cautious; he pointed out, however, that this certainly was not the reason for their not joining the Party. He said that his feeling about our failure in this direction was primarily due to the fact that we have not been orientated in the past toward making a direct and systematic appeal to the Negro people to join the CP.

George Meyers

George stated that he agreed essentially with Lightfoot's report except for the references made to the Catholic Church but since Lightfoot had already said that that reference would be deleted, he was in accord.

George then dealt at length with the situation around the Baltimore area emphasizing the struggles along Route 40 for integration of the public facilities. He then gave the gathering a picture of the electoral situation in the Baltimore area.

[redacted] said that she felt that Lightfoot's report was an excellent one. She said she was particularly happy with the manner in which he coupled the economic

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development of the South with the Northern industrial areas. She pointed to the existence of anti-communists amongst the Negro people and indicated that if we were going to make any inroads into the Negro Movement, we were going to have to show the Negro people the extent to which the CP is an asset to the Negro Freedom Movement.

She indicated that there were a number of individuals who were making significant contributions to the Negro Movement, but that their contributions were not reflected in gains for the Party because our method of operating does not make known the extent to which the Party is a factor in our work. [redacted] then offered criticism of the Party's attitude toward the Negro Question stating that we say continuously that the Negro Question is the key question in the United States, but we do not demonstrate that we believe that. She said that Lightfoot's report seemingly places the burden of building the Negro-Labor Alliance on the Negro people rather than on the Party, where it correctly belongs.

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[redacted] also dealt with the question of white chauvinism, pointing to the fact that it was significant that this had not been mentioned anywhere in Lightfoot's report, and there was a growing tendency in the Party to ignore this question.

Bob Thompson

Thompson stated that on the question of the new type of alliance between labor and the Negro people, there must be a new responsiveness to the demands of the Negro people's movements. He stated that there was general apathy in the labor movement towards the problems of the Negro people. This is demonstrated in the slowness with which the labor movement responds to the Negro people's demands for greater representation.

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Thompson stated that with reference to Claude's demands for building the labor movement in the South and organizing the unorganized -- we have been talking for 14 years about this. Thompson stated that organization in the South will not be accomplished by one union alone. He pointed out that that will come about only through the concerted efforts of the trade unions.

Thompson then dealt with the question of white chauvinism and indicated that although significant gains had been made against chauvinism in the Party, it now existed in a new way and pointed out that a conscious effort needed to be made to eradicate it.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] pointed out that our failure to build the Party is due to the fact that we do not solve the problem of making the people understand the role of the Party in the Negro people's movement. He pointed out further that we give leadership in the Negro people's movement, but we do not solve the problem of letting the people know that we do give this leadership. [REDACTED] also pointed out the fact that we do not even raise the question of white chauvinism any more. He then made reference to the fact that Lightfoot's report failed to mention any aspect of the fight against white chauvinism. [REDACTED] next spoke about the question of organizing the unorganized in the South and indicated that when we speak of organizing the unorganized in the South, we are referring to Negro people, Mexican people and Puerto Rican people, and it is necessary to take those factors into consideration.

[REDACTED]

(Before [REDACTED] started to speak, William A. Patterson pointed out [REDACTED] background to this gathering stating that he had just been released from prison where he had served time for contempt of court or Congress.)

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[ ] spoke with great emotion and fervor. He indicated that we are in the business of building socialism in this country and said that in our approach to the Negro Question, we must remain cognizant of that fact. He indicated that it was his firm belief that we are going to recruit Negroes into the Party in larger numbers than ever before.

[ ] referring to the section of Lightfoot's report dealing with the Muslim Movement, indicated that it was his feeling that not everything the Muslims are doing is wrong. He said that while we disagree with their basic philosophical position, it must be pointed out that they are giving to the Negro people a sense of dignity and they are building their movement on a sound economic basis by providing innumerable jobs, building schools and other civic and community institutions. He indicated that if we are going to make any inroads into the Negro Movement, we have got to stop living on our past laurels and begin to demonstrate to the Negro people our ability to solve the problems that exist today.

[ ]  
[ ] indicated that he felt that Lightfoot's report was a good one and that it brings us up to date. He said that he was not too sure that we had handled the Williams case correctly (the Williams case referred to is the case of the Negro NAACP leader in South Carolina who indicated that it might be necessary for Negroes to resort to the use of arms in defense of their rights). [ ] indicated some vagueness or lack of understanding regarding Claude's suggestion of a government subsidy to aid in the industrialization of the South. He said that it was his feeling that Negro people are already in the midst of a depression and raised the question, "Can the job problem of the Negro be solved solely within the framework of the fight against Jim Crow?" The essence of this concept being that since the

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United States is in a state of general crisis and since there are not enough jobs for white Americans, how would the solution of the Negro problem create new jobs. The logic of this position is that only through socialism could any workable solution to the Negro problem in America come about.

Continuing, he indicated that there is no organization tackling the unemployment problem this way. He pointed out further that the Muslims have an economic program and in spite of what we may think of other aspects of their program and philosophy, there is very little negative that can be said about this program.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] also spoke on the economic aspects of Lightfoot's report, and indicated that we are not at all conscious of the economic plight of the bulk of the Negro people. He quoted statistics to show the median wage of the Negro people as opposed to that of white Americans; the percentage of unemployed amongst Negroes as opposed to that amongst white Americans. He indicated that most Negro communities throughout the United States were in a severe state of financial depression. [REDACTED] stated that he felt that our concept of the Negro as a nation, which was held in the 1930's, was a sound concept and that we have failed to keep abreast of reality.

[REDACTED]

(Before [REDACTED] spoke, Claude Lightfoot introduced him to the gathering, drawing references to his father, pointing out that his father was an outstanding communist, known to most of the old-timers within the movement.)

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[redacted] spoke on the question of recruiting Negroes into the Party stating that he felt that our failure in this area was due primarily to our inability to set up a real program. He indicated that he felt that there was something peculiar about Negro youths and that we needed to understand these peculiarities in order to attract Negro Youths. He pointed out that the Muslims set up schools and educational standards and had a constant cadre policy.

[redacted] also made reference to the question of white chauvinism and referred specifically to the question of the Youth Festival indicating that a number of Negro youths, who had worked diligently and were deserving of the opportunity to attend the Festival, were not given the opportunity to attend this Festival. They were not given a chance. He said he felt that there was a great deal of paternalism towards Negroes within the Party.

[redacted] also took exception to several aspects of Lightfoot's report. For example, he felt that Claude's handling of the Brown Supreme Court Decision was not quite accurate or complete. Also, he said he disagreed completely with his economic program and his appeal for a government subsidy for industrialization of the South.

[redacted] said that he felt there was as great a need for organizing the unorganized in the North as there was in the South. He stated that the inferred concept that as you industrialize the South, things will get better is just simply not true.

[redacted]  
[redacted] indicated that youth have an interest in strategy and in learning and knowing Marxism. She said that on the questions of sit-ins, she felt that it was her opinion that it was not sufficient to just "sit in". She

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felt that there must be an approach to organization; so that when you sit in, you talk to the waitresses and to the porters and to the people around you and make some effort toward leaving an impression. [redacted] said that she felt that there was a great need for more left forms; more left vehicles through which youth can struggle and make contributions. She felt that there was a need for more constant, organized educational programs. She stated that the left forms need not be in opposition to the PYOC, the current Party youth form. She felt that the youth have not been influenced by Mc Carthyism to the degree that the adult movement has, and she felt that the adult movement needs to give the youth movement more information about what is going on in order that they may coordinate their efforts.

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[redacted] pointed out that one of the major criticisms of Lightfoot's report could be the fact that it dealt with general concepts which were pretty much accepted and, therefore, did little more than put into writing and into one pamphlet, a number of facts which had been demonstrated in life and views which were held by a majority of Party members. On the question of Lightfoot's appeal for a government subsidy to assist the industrialization of the South, [redacted] pointed out that there were many pitfalls that had to be considered. For example, he stated that if you made an appeal for industrializing the South, the unions of the North would view this as competition. He pointed to the example of a swine mill in Chicago around which a major struggle was waged in an effort to keep that industry from moving to the South. He indicated that since we accept the concept that the vast majority of the Negro communities in the nation quickly qualify as depressed areas, he felt that an appeal for government subsidies to aid in the development of these areas and in projects to create jobs would have a broader appeal and less opposition from organized labor.

He said that on the question of organizing the Party, he felt that somewhere along the line, the Party was "missing the bus". He referred to a statement made by Ben Davis at a previous meeting of the National Negro Commission in which Davis indicated that unless the Party is able to seize the program of any given Negro mass organization and effectively work around this program producing answers to these practical problems, it will never build (itself) within the Negro community.

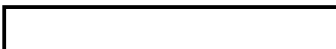
[redacted] said that he felt that we would have to answer the question, "What is it that the Muslim movement offered the Negro people which enabled it to build a mass membership in excess of 200,000 members and what is it that the churches give to the people that enables them to maintain their tremendous mass membership?" He stated that he did not know the answer, adding that somewhere along the line there was a gap between the provision of a correct program and the translation of that program into memberships amongst the Negro people, and the Party will have to bridge this gap before

It can hope to build any semblance of a mass movement in the Negro community.

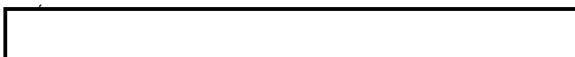


[redacted] said he felt that there is a great deal of cynicism amongst the youth and that this cynicism manifests itself in acts of lawlessness. He stated that you need only consider the innumerable acts of lawlessness in high places in our country and amongst its top leadership in order to see the significance of lawlessness to youths.

He stated that the report should have given more emphasis to the question of the struggle for peace and he dealt at great length with the question of fallout shelters and quoted a number of statistics dealing with that subject, much to the annoyance of the other members present. Gone then moved to the question of the plight of the Negro woman in the south, pointing out that this was another notable omission in Lightfoot's report.



[redacted] stated that he agreed completely with Lightfoot's report and then moved on to a detailed discussion of some specific local problems existing within his section or district. These problems had nothing to do with the Party organization, but dealt with the problems of his community and had very little significance to the deliberations of the gathering or to the report.



[redacted] spoke first on the question of the Muslim movement and characterized it as a radical new approach and indicated that our Party also needed a new approach and that this approach had to be a two-pronged approach; one would be an approach to the intellectual section of American life and the other would be an approach to the working class.

[ ] also felt very definitely that we could recruit and that we could build the Party if we took up the problems of the people.

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Ben Davis

Ben Davis spoke very highly of Lightfoot's report indicating that this report was the result of collective effort. He stated that the discussion and the report gave us the base for making a much needed turn; a turn in the direction of a correct policy and action. We must have a correct, concise struggle against white chauvinism. It is true that white chauvinism has taken on more subtle forms in recent years.

Ben also felt that [ ] contribution on the economic picture and his reservations on Lightfoot's question of industrialization of the south was good and felt that we needed to give this matter a great deal more thought and discussion.

On the peace question, Ben stated that we have the beginnings of a breakthrough in the Negro movement in the struggle for peace and that it is incumbent on the Party to find a form that will consider the struggle for peace within the context of the struggle for freedom. He stated that we should be aware that the Negro people in America have chosen constitutional means in their efforts to acquire their rights. This explains their rejection of the Williams approach. Davis also stated that the Muslim movement is doomed to failure. (It is not recalled whether or not Davis related the two approaches or whether he concluded that the Muslim movement is doomed to failure because it has chosen unconstitutional means.)

Davis stated that we have to find ways of working in some areas with the Muslim movement, however (the word areas in this instance does not refer to geographical divisions, but rather to areas of effort wherein the slogan or program of the Muslims runs parallel to ours).

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[REDACTED]

The essence of [REDACTED] statement was that this was a very excellent meeting and that we have begun to place the Negro question in its correct perspective and that the National Negro Commission needs to function on a day to day basis with more discussion on local issues.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that Claude Lightfoot's report was an excellent report and he dealt at great length on the subject of nationalism, attempting to give an explanation and definition of how it works. [REDACTED] spoke of what he called "Muslimism" and the nationalist development in America, indicating that there is a tremendous upsurge of nationalist thinking amongst the Negro people and that not all of it was negative. He said that a great deal of it had a positive direction; that there was a striving for dignity; striving for recognition and striving for pride in cultural heritage. Archie stated that our Party needed to look in this direction.

[REDACTED] also dealt with the question of white chauvinism and stated that chauvinism was taking a new direction in the Party. He stated that the "black intelligentsia" is developing and also there needs to be a special approach to activate youth. He said that our approach to Negro youth was just all wrong. He said that we are failing to recognize the cultural forms that are indigenous to Negro youth; such a form is jazz. He indicated that he felt that attempting to attract Negro youth to folk singing was just ridiculous. He said that no Negro youth would ever be appealed to on the basis of a 'hootenanny' or a square dance and that until we resort to the forms that are more popular amongst the Negro youth, we would not attract them.

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Tom Nabried

Nabried stated that he felt that the report was an excellent one and that it laid the basis for a great deal of discussion that would be beneficial to the program and growth of the Party. He dealt at length with the question of depressed areas and to the economic status of the Negro people in various industrial areas.

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[redacted] stated he felt that Claude Lightfoot's report was a good report. [redacted] spoke on the subject of white youth, noting the Freedom Riders and the organization of youths on the various campuses and noted the many contributions that white youths were making toward the struggle for Negro rights. He stated, however, that the gap between Negro and white youths is steadily growing and that in the struggle for jobs, we must find those proposals that link Negro and white youths together. He stated that white chauvinism manifests itself in a "gradualist" approach on the part of white comrades. He stated also that there are no truly integrated organizations in the struggle and called for more dramatic action programs.

Tom ... Dennis From Detroit

Dennis spoke on the question of recruiting and building the Party. He felt that in this area of activity there needs to be more self-criticism. He said that he felt we have failed to build the Party, primarily because we have not made the effort and we relied too heavily on the past. He added that those people who participate in a program of action in solving Negro problems are the people who are best able to recruit Negroes into the Party. If you do not participate you cannot be in a position to recruit.

Dennis also stated that we have to carry the burden brought on by people who have left the Party but are still associated, by outsiders, with the Party. Many of these people are engaged in various types of activities, some of a negative character, but the CP gets blamed for their activity even though they are no longer in the Party.

[redacted] raised the question of how the Party can begin to move in a new way into a level of struggle and leadership. She also spoke of the various aspects of the struggle for integration. She stated that the Party did not lose its role of leadership and prestige among the Negro people, it just gave it up. She also had much to say about the Party's political action program and gave a detailed account of the local situation in her area.

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William A. Patterson

Patterson stated that he thought that the report should be modified and should become the basis for further discussions in all of the areas. He pointed out what he considered to be some of the weaknesses in the report; one was the failure on the part of labor, which needs to be spelled out more clearly and sharply. He stated that there is no white organization geared to the fight to end racism in America.

In the area of programmatic action, Patterson cited the instances of police brutality throughout the country, calling special attention to the situation in San Francisco. He stated that this wave of police terror is a reflection of our government.

Also in the field of culture, Patterson said he felt that our inability to apply proper cultural forms to attract the Negro people was a reflection of weakness. He said that we should make the struggle to achieve cultural equality an inseparable part of the general struggle. (It might be pointed out that the term cultural equality applies, in this instance, to the struggle to obtain Negro commentators, newscasters, and for better parts for Negroes in motion pictures and other activities which give the Negroes an opportunity to demonstrate their excellence in the field of cultural endeavor.)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the final speaker, said that he joined with those who liked the report. He said that this was a "turning to" our work with a new quality, a new fervor, a new enthusiasm. He stated that the Negro people were demonstrating that constitutional means to freedom and revolutionary democracy are possible. The Negro Freedom Riders are teaching America lessons which we as Marxists must learn.

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Continuing, [REDACTED] stated that on the question of white chauvinism, a thorough-going study is needed. There is,

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together with the most tremendous advances being made, a revival of the most belligerent forms of chauvinism.

Claude Lightfoot

Claude Lightfoot next took the floor and spoke again on the subject of building the Party. He stated that the discussion which had taken place pointed up the need for a special section of the report which would deal specifically with the issue of building the Party. He therefore suggested that a sub-committee consisting of Tommie Dennis from Detroit,

be designated to prepare a memoranda or the rough draft of a memoranda to be presented at the beginning of the session to take place on Monday (June 25, 1962).

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This motion was introduced and accepted and those three named were instructed to begin work on the memoranda.

The meeting then adjourned at approximately 5:50 PM and those present were instructed to get ready for the evening meeting, the beginning of the conference, at which Gus Hall would render his report.

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The first session of a three-day conference of National Communist Party (CP) leaders, who met under the name of the Gus Hall-Ben Davis Defense Committee, began at approximately 8:15 PM on June 22, 1962. All sessions of this conference were held in a hall at 853 Broadway, New York, New York. This conference consisted of meetings on Friday evening and daily sessions on Saturday and Sunday, June 23, and June 24, 1962.

Approximately 120 people were in attendance at this conference from various parts of the nation. Due to the large number of persons attending this conference, it is impossible to state specifically which persons attended the individual sessions of the conference; however, those persons listed at the conclusion of this report were observed in attendance at one or more sessions of this conference during the period June 22-24, 1962.

This session of the meeting was called to order at approximately 8:15 PM by Jim Tormey, who indicated that this was a meeting of the Gus Hall-Ben Davis Defense Committee. He then introduced the proposed chairman for the evening, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn stated that the agenda would consist of the Gus Hall address, which would be the only point on the agenda for that evening. She said that the meeting would then adjourn and would reconvene on Saturday at 10:00 AM, at which time there would be a general discussion from 10:00 AM to 6:00 PM, with special remarks by specific people who had been previously designated.

Continuing, Flynn said that the meeting would reconvene at 10:00 AM on June 24, 1962, at which time there would be a report on a program of action and discussion until 2:00 PM. At that time there will be a report and summation by Gus Hall.

Flynn then introduced Gus Hall.

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Report by Gus Hall

Hall began his remarks by stating that the simple fact that we are here is in itself a source of inspiration. It proves that we are an indestructible force. Nothing will ever destroy this movement. He stated that John Abt states that the democratic forces in our land are beginning to understand how fortunate it is that the Party made the historic decision to fight back; that the Party rejected the advice of many that we should dissolve. We also rejected the idea that we should just stand pat and wait to see what happens. We made a decision that was not abstract; it was a decision to fight back and we recognized that it was necessary to fight for our organization. We can review this year and a month with a sense of satisfaction. The legal fight has been conducted on a very high plane. There is nothing in our history which compares to our historic, necessary fight back which we have waged. He pointed out that a number of very significant things have happened in the course of the period of this struggle:

- 1) The Party has welded an inner unity.
- 2) There are no divisions in the ranks of the Party.
- 3) The Party isolated and destroyed the last remnants of the left.
- 4) We have spoken to more people during this period than in any other period in our history.
- 5) The Party has a new and higher status in broad circles of the country.
- 6) We are now a factor in the growing crystalization of the left, in the trade unions and Negro people's movement.
- 7) We have broken down the ring of isolation that existed around the Party.

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- 8) We are making real headway in destroying the effectiveness of the anti-Communists.
- 9) The Party is not only defending itself but it is a unit, a whole, and is slowly growing.

All of this proves that the line and policy have been correct. He stated that the best forces for any cause are those with firm convictions; those who understand why the democratic institutions are under attack have this understanding and, therefore, bring new depth to the understanding that the roots of the Mc Carran and Smith Acts are rooted in the economic life of the country. The Mc Carran and Smith Acts are companion instruments of the cold war. They are necessary to sell out the interests of the people in favor of the interests of the monopoly groups. They are tools of the cold war which can be used in a hot war as well. We must examine some of the background.

(At this point Hall referred to the pamphlet which was the basis for this discussion. This pamphlet is called "End The Cold War". Copies of this pamphlet were available at this gathering.)

Hall stated that the pamphlet did not deal with the question of trade unions, the question of youth, or with the Negro people's struggle. He said there will be special meetings on these points and other pamphlets will be issued which will cover those points.

Hall then pointed out five points in which he felt we should all agree:

- 1) That the cold war is an evil, grand design to block and turn the course of history.
- 2) That it has been a miserable failure; the dynamic progressive elements of the country have blocked its effectiveness.

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- 3) The failure of the cold war policies has brought on new problems for the government.
- 4) The cold war has been extremely profitable for the monopolists.
- 5) These failures have reached a stage where they will work for more basic qualitative changes.

Hall stated that these policies have been so detrimental that they have led to a decline in United States prestige. He stated that nothing has happened since the initial rendering of this report, which is now two or three weeks old, to call for a change in its policy or line. He stated that the manner in which the stock market is jumping up and down caused him to be worried that by the time he was able to deliver his talk there would have to be a whole new evaluation of the situation. He stated that there are seven events which have taken place which should be pointed out. These events highlight the general crisis of the United States capitalist economy.

The first was the unusual behavior of the stock market and it was at this point that he stated he was afraid that the stock market would not stay stable until after this report.

The second point is the two attempts at setting off nuclear bombs in space.

The third is the sight of our President on his knees penitently begging for forgiveness for his actions of six weeks ago.

The fourth is the action of the Attorney General who has started action, on the instructions of President Kennedy, on a revised section of the Smith Act.

Fifth is the invasion of Thailand by United States troops.

These five underscore the seriousness of the movement.

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The sixth is the settlement of the Laos and Algerian disputes.

The seventh is the primary elections in several states.

He stated that the invasion and the two attempts at nuclear bombs in outer space are very dangerous steps and which brand this Administration as aggressive and irresponsible. They are criminal and lawless and gamble with life itself. While we have always said that there is a danger of war from accident, etc., we must now add the irresponsibility of this Administration as a serious factor in the danger of war. We must now become more effective in expressing the aggressive, irresponsible role that this country plays.

Referring to the nuclear disarmament conference, Hall stated that every competent socialist source in the world clearly states that there is no question of inspection; that this issue of inspections which is generally raised by the United States is phony, immoral and false since it is impossible to explode a nuclear bomb without detection. The United States has never presented a plan for disarmament, and the United States is the main obstacle to ending nuclear testing and to disarm. This we must make clear to the American people. The level of our struggle for peace is not high enough. The people are ready for experiences which we are not giving them. He stated that many mass organizations discuss these problems regularly. He then quoted from a magazine called "The Commonwealth", issue of May 18, 1962, and from another periodical issued by the Students for Democratic Society. He stated that we are not fulfilling our role in raising the more basic questions in the struggle for peace in the language of the people.

In the life of this Administration, it has acted as if it was on probation. The whole Cabinet has been begging for forgiveness from the monopolists. He raised the question, "Do we need to change our basic estimate of this Administration? Must we now give up ideas that our struggles can change this.

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Administration? The answer to both of these questions is no, our original estimate was correct.

On the economic developments, Hall stated that the Wall Street bankers have not reached the dead end. They are not yet jumping out of windows, but a large number of Cadillacs have run out of gas. We have not given battle to the concept that Marxist ideology does not apply in the United States. The dogmatic theories are not and never have been Marxist. It is too early to draw conclusions from the stock market developments. The stock market tumble was not due to manipulation; it reflects real problems that have long and short-range implications. The basic problems of the stock market developments were long-range. They represent the "total signal" of the end of the past war. After the end of World War II the capitalist world was in a state of devastation. The rest of the world would not have recovered without the capitalist United States.

Hall then moved on to state that the role of the capitalist right is the central point of focus today. One of our tasks is to expose how the ultra-right is thwarted and underwritten by the FBI, the Un-American Activities Committee, and other governmental bodies. We must expose the role of big business and the role of the military. There is subversion of the people's organizations and we must weld the movement against the ultra-right. We have evidenced two basic weaknesses and failures in our work. They are resistance to organization and concreteness in our movement.

Hall stated that we have important cadres whose actions contradict their expressed ideas. They agree with the general idea that there should be, and that there is a need for, left unity but they are against left progressive youth organizations or youth clubs in the Party. In the field of peace we have cadres which agree with the idea of a fight for peace but are against left coordinated peace committees. In the trade union movement they agree that we should have left trade union development but are against caucuses and committees.

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In the field of science the big difficulty is not in discovering the sources of energy but how to maintain and utilize them; the same applies with organizations. We have now for some time greatly emphasized the idea of speaking to the masses within the context of the understanding of their problems. We have hammered out a better, clearer, sharper policy. We can say with a new sense of confidence that we have a winning Party with a winning policy and program in a winning cause.

At this point Gus Hall ended his presentation and was given a thunderous ovation. Those present were given instructions to reconvene at 10:00 AM (June 23, 1962) and the meeting was adjourned.

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Meeting of Saturday, June 23, 1962

This session of the meeting began at approximately 10:15 AM and was called to order by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. She indicated that there was a proposal that George Meyers serve as Chairman for the day and there were no objections and no further nominations. Meyers was elected Chairman. This meeting began with comments from the various persons present. The following comments were noted:

Anthony Krcmarek From Ohio

Krcmarek spoke at great length on the visit of the Un-American Activities Committee to Cleveland, indicating the manner in which the churches, the American Civil Liberties Union and other community organizations mobilized against this committee, bringing strong community pressure against the action of the Un-American Activities Committee. He stated that during the visit of the committee, or prior to the visit of the committee to Cleveland, names of witnesses scheduled to appear were released to the newspapers. This created a problem for the committee and they were forced to face a situation of general hostility. There were instances of government witnesses who refused to testify; on the other hand a number of government informers came forth and exposed themselves in the course of the committee's hearings. Krcmarek said that he felt that generally the committee's appearance in Cleveland resulted in very poor publicity for them and constituted a victory for the Party. He stated that at just about that time Gus Hall and Arnold Johnson visited Cleveland and contributed much to the general sense of victory.

Bob Thompson

Thompson was given the floor for a special report on trade union work. The report Thompson rendered was not written but was rendered extemporaneously. Thompson stated there are two concepts in our approach to trade union work that had to be reviewed; one was the idea of more and better

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trade union work and the other was the concept of "back to the good old days". If we are to have any impact on the trade union movement we must overhaul and modernize our program and our methods and tactics in this field.

On the subject of the shorter work week, Thompson stated that the winning of the shorter work week in basic industry will be a difficult task. We must have a tactical outlook towards this struggle. He stated that the "30-40-60" movement has a strong base in auto, however, this movement must not be approached as an instrument to bring about a change in the auto leadership. He stated that we must strive to achieve an alliance between the trade union movement and the Negro people's movement on a new basis. Within this context he said that the minimum wage fight is a struggle that will unite labor and the Negro people.

[redacted] gave an extensive dissertation on the primary elections in California. She stated that as a result of these elections, no simple generalizations are possible. Her feeling was that the primaries strengthened the hand of the ultra-right and "closed primaries" were utilized for the first time. She stated that in these elections the Party had three main objectives; one was to defeat the ultra-right. The second was to increase the Negro representation and the third was to improve the quality of the Congressional representation. She stated that the right-wing registered a large vote, but added that in a closed Republican primary this is not necessarily significant nor is it necessarily a reflection of the popular appeal of right-wing candidates. She said that there was an unprecedented upsurge in Negro and Mexican-American votes. She stated that a Negro won the Democratic nomination for Congress in a predominantly Negro district and this is tantamount to election. She stated also that a Mexican candidate also won nomination.

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Bill Albertson From New York

Bill Albertson had much to say about the New York state election. He stated that the ultra-right conservative party seems to be out to defeat Javits and there is a great danger that they will emerge considerably stronger. He stated that regardless of the actions of the ultra-right in the primary election, Rockefeller will, no doubt, still emerge as their principal candidate. Albertson then mentioned the role of the "Brotherhood Party" which was not quite clear.

Carl Winter From Michigan

Winter dealt at length with the Michigan election, going into the relative merits of candidates for Governor. He spoke in glowing terms of the contributions of Coleman Young at the Michigan State Constitutional Convention, indicating that Young had made a significant contribution to this convention after having been elected in the face of Red-baiting and a well organized campaign to defeat him. Winter said that the indications are now that Young will be elected to the State Legislature.

Fred Blair

Blair stated that on the question of Party organization the natural practice is to seek security; to do nothing. He stated that we talk and talk and talk until nothing is done. He said that he agrees with the tactics outlined and stated further that the ultra-left remnants combined with Trotskyites and other phony liberals promulgate a lot of crazy ideas which confuse the picture. They deny the danger from the ultra-right and place responsibility for war on the liberals. Blair went on to discuss the question of "ground rents." He said that we have been completely blank on the issue of "ground rents" and we failed to recognize the influence on our economy by the continuation of the practice of rent tributes to a landed aristocracy. He stated that actually in America no one really

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owns the land; those who occupy it pay rent in the form of taxes or subsidies of one form or another to the government or some other force having title.

Arnold Johnson

Johnson stated that Gus Hall's presentation was the result of a great deal of collective effort on the part of members of the Board. He expressed regret that the pamphlet "End The Cold War" had not been ready for distribution prior to the rendition of his (Hall's) speech. He said that it had been intended to have it distributed before Hall's speech. He stated that the pamphlet was now being mailed to 1,600 opinion makers throughout the United States. He said that we must find ways of making greater use of the peace literature which our Party issues. He stated that there is a great deal more of it coming out. Johnson also stated that most of the discussion around peace takes place in the various journals and urged the support and promotion of peace candidates in the coming election. He also urged support for the campaign for 1,000,000 signatures, which is being circulated by a committee called "The Women's Strike for Peace". He stated that we must support this campaign. We must help guarantee its obtaining 1,000,000 signatures. He stated that peace is no longer a subversive word.

William Patterson

Patterson stated that the economic phase of this report should be placed in the hands of economists, students and teachers. He raised the issue of the Negro Question and indicated to the gathering that there had been a meeting of the National Negro Commission, and he gave a brief summary of the deliberations of that commission, placing emphasis on the active participation of Negro youths. He stated that the failure of the trade union movement to make the program of the Negro people an integral part of their program is a basic weakness. He said that when we place the Negro Question separate

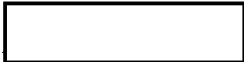
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and apart from the general program the Negro masses see a dichotomy. (This constituted a criticism of the fact that the Party statement on the Negro Question was not an integral part of Gus Hall's report but took the form of a separate report rendered by Claude Lightfoot, which will be published separately. Patterson felt that the separating of these two documents was in itself significant.)

At this point there was a one hour break for lunch.



Immediately after lunch the speaker was   
who rendered a special report on youth.

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Irving Potash

Potash stated that Bob Thompson's report that there had been no break-through in our trade union work is correct. He stated that there cannot and will not be a break-through unless the entire Party is made conscious of the problems and struggles of the working class. Potash stated that there is the organizational task of developing a movement against the Kennedy program; developing a struggle for the revision of the Kennedy labor-management approach.

He added that in the struggle for shorter hours we must resist the concept that this can be accomplished only through legislation. There can be no break-through in any basic industry unless it is on a national level.

At this point Potash took issue with a statement made by Bob Thompson in which Thompson had stated that there was a caucus existing within auto (the United Auto Workers Union), which is called Reuther's caucus, and that this was a broad caucus with which left-wingers could work. Potash advanced the theory that Reuther's caucus is a machine; that we cannot work through it. It is strictly Reuther's caucus.

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organized by Reuther, manipulated by Reuther and used by Reuther for maintenance of control of the Auto Union.



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This speaker indicated that they were struggling in New England and doing the best with what they had. He stated that there is no full-time Party cadre and that the Party there was involved almost entirely in defending itself and raising funds. He stated that there is a lot of peace ferment in New England and that the objective situation there is most hopeful.

Claude Lightfoot

Lightfoot was given the floor to deliver a special report on the Negro Question. He stated that the major problem before us was the problem of how to rebuild our Party. He stated that there were two areas in which the Party can make most rapid advances. The first was with the youth and the second was with the Negro masses. Lightfoot stated that it had been pointed out in the deliberations of the Negro Commission that Negroes have not left the Party because of fear and it is not fear that keeps them out of the Party. He said that it is that they do not identify the Party with the struggles which they are waging. He stated that we must work to prove the thesis that it is impossible for the Negro to win his rights without a strong CP.

Lightfoot stated that there is no person worthy of the name Communist who cannot probe into the ranks of any organization and identify (himself) with those persons who seem to be moving toward left positions. He urged the opening

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up of a discussion on a broad basis on where the Negro movement is going. He urged also the building of committees and forums where discussions can take place.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] took sharp issue with the statements of Irving Potash on the question of left caucuses in the trade union movement. He stated that Potash just did not know what was going on in the trade union movement, if --- he felt that left caucuses could be built or were a correct tactic for that movement at this time.

[REDACTED] stated that he was very happy to see an approach towards youth and felt that that was a marked improvement over the past.

Mickey Lima From California

Lima spoke at great length on the California elections but had very little else of significance to say.

Bert From the State of Washington

Bert addressed himself to the economic phase of the report and stated that the AFL-CIO leadership had set up labor councils in several areas because union officers had failed to carry out the policies of the Committee on Political Education (COPE).

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] spoke on the question of anti-Communism and urged an approach of talking to people on the basis of their willingness to listen and to understand. He spoke of the motion picture "Judgment At Nuremberg" and indicated that a leaflet had been issued drawing a parallel between the Mc Carran Act and the anti-Communism of Hitler-Germany. He stated that on the question of the shorter work week, the demand has to be raised in conjunction with local issues.

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[redacted]

[redacted] said that he agreed with the content of Bob Thompson's report on labor but stated that most of our comrades are on the outside of the labor movement looking in. He stated that you can influence the workers and the union by working in the areas where you live or work. He spoke at length of the elections in Maryland and of the bitter electoral struggles in the primaries. He stated that a Negro woman had been nominated for the State Senate.

[redacted]

[redacted] spoke on the need for building a Marxist orientated youth organization which need not conflict with the current Party youth set-up. She stated that there is no youth organization which fights against anti-Communism. Throughout the country every organization is trying to win youth. [redacted] spoke extensively of the activities of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee (PYOC). She stated that they have been attending every major conference that is held throughout the country. She reported on the Washington Peace Mobilization which was attended by 8,000 young people which was organized mostly by left initiative.

[redacted]

[redacted] stated that Wisconsin produced Mc Carthy but it also has a Governor who spoke against the Un-American Activities Committee and a Congressman who voted against the Un-American Activities Committee. He stated that the Jo Ann Birches started a program to completely indoctrinate Wisconsin. He stated that the Party started a program to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. He stated that they have distributed 100,000 copies of James Roosevelt's speeches and that they are girded for a clash with the Birches.

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[REDACTED]

The content of her speech could not be determined.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] spoke of the role of the Party in various mass organizations, however, the essence of his remarks also could not be obtained.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] had something to say about fighting the symptoms of a disease rather than fighting the disease itself. (The full significance of her statement could not be ascertained.) [REDACTED] also stated that since the Mc Carran Act, more youths have joined the Party. (Apparently she meant that since the Mc Carran Act Decision, more youths have joined the Party.)

At this point, this session of the meeting was adjourned and all of the people present were invited to attend a special reception which was being given for [REDACTED] [REDACTED] at a restaurant on East 26th Street.

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Session Held Sunday, June 24, 1962

The Sunday session of this meeting began at approximately 10:00 AM with [redacted] as Chairman.

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Jim Tormey

Tormey was the first speaker at this session. Tormey is believed to function as the Executive Secretary of the Gus Hall-Ben Davis Defense Committee. Tormey gave a lengthy report on the work of the committee, which culminated in the presentation of four points of slogans around which the Party should fight the Mc Carran Act:

- 1) The fight to quash the indictments.
- 2) To halt all proceedings under the Act.
- 3) The building of civil liberties committees on a national scale.
- 4) To repeal the Act.

Tormey spoke at great length on the building of civil liberties committees, stating that he felt that these committees had a possibility of embracing all stratas of the population.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was introduced by Jim Tormey and she then stated that it was a matter of pride and sorrow, that after a long life dedicated to the working class movement, she now found herself in a position of having to accept the chairmanship of a committee to defend the Party. She stated that there is no such CP as that described in the Mc Carran Act. She stated that we have to make it clear that we cannot, and will not, register because to do so would be to plead guilty

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to the lying, vicious charge of being agents of a foreign government. She urged that conferences be held in all cities to acquaint the people with the details of the Mc Carran Act and how it works. She stated further that legal defense takes money and that we now have to dedicate ourselves to the task of raising tremendous sums of money.

Jim Jackson

Jackson stated that there was need of more precise studies and measurements of the economic crisis. He stated that capitalism is like an old tree standing in the middle of the highway of our people's progress. He gave a detailed account of "The Worker" campaign against the Mc Carran Act and of "The Worker's" activities in defending itself against the Mc Carran Act.

[redacted] spoke about the fight against the Landrum-Griffin Bill, stating that this fight is tied to the fight against the Mc Carran Act and that anti-Communism has become a big business in the United States. [redacted] stated that also we have to clarify our position against the Kennedy Administration. He said that we were very fuzzy on this issue and that our fuzziness leads to great confusion among the masses.

[redacted] also dealt with the question of his letters to Kennedy and Khrushchev and said that he felt that it was right and reasonable that these letters be sent and did not see the need for all the furor that they had created.

Ben Davis

Ben Davis started his talk with a discussion of the inhuman aspects of the Kennedy Administration. He drew specific references to the question of Geraldine Lightfoot's funeral wherein someone stole the guest register from the funeral parlor and published the names of some 700 guests who had

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attended the funeral and as a result a number of editorials had appeared in newspapers all over the country in protest of this type of inhuman action. He stated that it had always been a concept that there is nothing worse than an old fool but he felt that there was one possible exception - that being a young fool. He then stated that Bob Kennedy is a young fool.

Davis stated that we have slowed the pace of harassment. We caught the Administration red-handed on the question of concentration camps because for a long time the Kennedy Administration had denied the existence of these camps until some spokesman of the Administration had been boxed into exposing their existence. He said that people will now feel that if the government will lie about one thing, they will lie about other things.

Davis said that he felt that the youth reaction was heartening and referred specifically to their refusal to accept censorship of their right to hear controversial speeches, drawing reference to the fight on a number of universities which resulted in invitations being extended to himself and Gus Hall and other Communist speakers. He said that through their actions, the youth have modified the Mc Carran Act. He spoke of the victory of Phil Bart and "The Worker". Davis said that these are things achieved by struggle. He also told of an amendment to the Mc Carran Act which he stated was "passed in the dark of night" and signed by President Kennedy "in the dark of the night", and said that this was an effort to make the Act work. He referred specifically to that section of the Mc Carran Act which dealt with the requirement of the government to publish a list of defense plants where workers whose names appeared on any of the membership lists of suspect organizations would not be permitted to work. Davis stated that the government recognized that to publish such a list would be to expose the location of defense plants. The amendment to the Mc Carran Act eliminated the necessity for publication of the list.

He stated that we need to emphasize the moral aspects of the competition between the United States and the Soviet

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Union. He also spoke of the work of the pacifists urging closer ties, yet opposition to their philosophical position which makes it impossible for them to mobilize against the forces which make war.

On the Negro Question, Ben Davis stated that one of the new things in the Negro liberation movement is the break-through on the subject of peace.

At this time Gus Hall interrupted the proceedings to state that the time had grown late and that many people had to leave and it was unfortunate that all of the people who wanted to speak did not have an opportunity to do so. Gus Hall was then given the platform for the purpose of making a summation.

Gus Hall

Hall said that this gathering had been like a family get-together after a long separation. He said that there should be further studies so that the basis of the Party's policies would be clear. He said that the stock market slump has brought out many economic theories. Hall stated that both of the major parties agreed they want to hide the real causes of the economic problems; therefore, the task is ours to do the job of educating the masses.

Hall stated that while we have no desire to save capitalism in America, we also have no desire to see the people impoverished and that offering a solution to the present crisis will in no way lengthen the life of this sick capitalistic economy.

Hall then proposed:

- 1) A 30 or 35 hour work week without a decrease in wages.
- 2) A minimum wage of \$2.50 per hour.

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- 3) That the Administration declare a moratorium on interest payments on the national debt and that this money be used on projects at home and abroad.
- 4) Elimination of income taxes up to \$10,000.00.
- 5) Have an increase in world trade.
- 6) A sharp cut of monopoly controlled prices.
- 7) An immediate program to nationalize subsidized industries.

In replying to [redacted] comments regarding the need for clarification of our policy towards the Kennedy Administration, Hall said that this approach is "fuzzy" as characterized by Brown and that this is true and will continue to be true. There is no need for a basic change in our policy on the Kennedy Administration; we agree that it represents big business but that it is not a fascist government and that it has relations with the ultra-right.

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Referring to the trade union movement, Hall stated that we have a sort of generalized approach in the youth field and that it applies to other fields including the trade union movement. He said that there is an upsurge with many and varied forms of organization. It would be a mistake to force any preconceived notion. (Here Hall drew a parallel as an example. He spoke of the farmer's approach to planting wherein many many more seeds are planted than can be accommodated by a given piece of land but as the seed grows, and as the plants grow they are thinned out until only the sturdy and best plants are left to grow for the harvest, and so with left forms - there will be many left forms initiated, and they will not be the same forms; they will vary according to different situations and ultimately we will emerge with the correct form.)

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We must make it clear to the trade unions that we have but one purpose, the best interests of the workers and the best interests of the union. Each left formation must reflect the level of the plant. (Here again he referred to his parallel of the farmer; that is, to influence a situation you must be their vehicles, plans, etc.)

On the question of our relationships with the socialist world, Hall stated that the "big lie" is question number one in the minds of most non-Communists. He stated that it has been his experience that on the various campuses youth will not accept a simple denial. Invariably he, Hall, would be asked about the United States Communist Party's allegiance to the Soviet Union. He said that his answer is that as Americans who are partisans we have a point of view; we have a science, and that the Soviet Union uses the same science. Any approach to cover up our partisan socialist viewpoint will not be accepted.

On the question of nuclear testing, we are against all tests and we must give due consideration to the question of what forced the Soviet Union to resume testing.

On the question of the [redacted] letters, Hall stated that certainly the letters had weaknesses but that certainly they were not as big a deal or as big an issue as some people have tried to make them. (It might be noted that when Ben Davis was speaking, he also made references to [redacted] [redacted] letters to Khrushchev and Kennedy and stated categorically that there was nothing for him to say other than that [redacted] was just wrong.)

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Gus Hall went on to say that there is an unprecedented demand for Marxist literature. He stated that the basic and fundamental change is the understanding of the role of our press and he urged support for the campaign for a million signatures on the petition being circulated by the Women's Strike for Peace. He urged that the people attending this conference report back to their districts in detail and initiate

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discussions and reminded all that it is necessary to convince the Party that we can recruit.

At this point the platform was given over to Jack Stachel, who introduced a number of motions which were carried. These were:

- 1) That we endorse the report and summary.
- 2) That we pledge to bring the pamphlet ("End The Cold War") to the widest circulation.
- 3) That all Party bodies and commissions review their work in the light of the Hall report.
- 4) That we approve the Tormey report. (The Tormey report was that wherein there was outlined a program of demands around which the Party hopes to base its fight against the Mc Carran Act.

As noted previously, approximately 120 persons were in attendance at the various sessions of this three day conference of national CP leaders. The following persons were present during one or more sessions of this three day conference, however, due to the large number of persons attending the conference it is impossible to state specifically which persons attended which sessions of the conference:

William Albertson  
James Allen  
Phil Bart  
Fred Blair  
Jesus Colon  
Ben Davis  
[redacted]  
Tom Dennis  
Lou Diskin  
[redacted]  
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn  
Betty Gannett  
[redacted]  
Gus Hall  
Dorothy Healy  
James Jackson  
Arnold Johnson

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Anton Krchmarek  
Claude Lightfoot  
Mickey Lima

[REDACTED]

George Meyers

[REDACTED]

Thomas Nabried  
Burt Nelson  
William Patterson

[REDACTED]

Irving Potash

[REDACTED]

Jack Stachel  
Bob Thompson  
James Tormey  
Louis Weinstock  
Carl Winter  
Alexander Trachtenberg

[REDACTED]

Jack Kling

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On Monday morning, June 25, 1962, there was the reconvening of the enlarged meeting of the CP, USA National Negro Commission which had previously been held on June 22, 1962. This meeting was held in the Board Room of CP Headquarters, West 26th Street, New York City. At the enlarged Negro Commission meeting which was held on June 22, 1962, representatives were present from various parts of the country; however, for this meeting only approximately 10 to 12 persons were present since most of the others who had attended the first session had already returned to their respective areas.

The meeting was opened by Claude Lightfoot who indicated that there were only two main points requiring further attention of the Negro Commission. These points were (1) further discussion on the phase of his report dealing with the industrialization of the South; (2) the report of the special committee dealing with building the Party. (This special committee was appointed by Lightfoot at the meeting held on June 22, 1962.) Lightfoot stated that the report of the special committee would be rendered by

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The meeting was then opened to comments and discussion on these two points by those present. The following persons spoke during this meeting:

Jim Jackson

Jackson spoke at great length on the subject of industrialization of the South. In essence, Jackson approved of the idea, but in his usually scholarly manner dealt with statistics, many of which were taken from a pamphlet called "Poverty and Depravation in the United States."

Jackson also urged extending the concept (of industrialization of the South) to include not only the major depressed areas of the South but also the major depressed areas of the whole country. He said he felt that we should initiate the idea and that we should seek trade union sponsorship to give it the public image.

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[redacted] raised the question of who would benefit from such a program and would we not be asking the government to subsidize big business. Then he raised the question of whether we could get the trade unions to raise this question and to wage the fight within the context of guaranteeing that the money would be put into industries which would benefit the workers.

Jim Tormey

Tormey stated that the question has to be tied up with the beginnings of the demands for nationalization. He said that the question would have to guarantee that the newly established industries would not become "runaway" industries which would serve to weaken, rather than strengthen, the labor movement. Labor has to be convinced that such a program is not going to be destructive to it (labor).

Tom Nabried

Nabried felt that we were discussing the question under somewhat adverse conditions. (The remainder of Nabried's remarks could not be heard.)

William Patterson

Patterson raised the question of whether this proposal increases or lessens the contradictions of American capitalism. He said that it was his feeling that it would increase them. He stated that therefore even though it was seemingly benefiting the capitalist class it was benefiting the working people infinitely more. He added that such a program would force organized labor to go into the South.

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[redacted]

[redacted] said that he felt that the proposal was a good one and would be workable if it was given a more generalized approach which would recognize that the vast majority of the northern industrial areas where Negro people live could also be considered depressed areas and if it also took into consideration the fact of the great migrations that have taken place since the end of World War II. These migrations would include the migrations from both the rural and urban areas of the South to the large industrial cities of the North.

[redacted] stated that such a program needs to be considered for the entire country and added that within that context there would certainly be a basis for emphasis on the South because the South is the least organized and the most depressed.

At this point Claude Lightfoot took the floor and proposed that this proposal be deleted from the report (Lightfoot's report which had been delivered on June 22, 1962, to this gathering) at this time and that at a later date the Board be asked to discuss it in detail and review the whole economic plight of the Negro in America in order to come up with an economic program.

The next item taken up at this meeting was the rendering of the report of the special committee which had been set up at Claude Lightfoot's proposal on June 22, 1962, to prepare a report or memorandum on building the Party. This report was delivered by [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] stated that the building of the CP in the ranks of the Negro people is a matter of historical importance. It is comparable to the situation which prevailed in the days preceding the second great revolution in our country -- the Civil War -- which made necessary the popularization and building of the Republican Party.

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The Republican Party was the instrument of a class which found slavery a barrier to its own progress and only incidental to the growth and progress of the Nation. The task of the CP is infinitely greater. It cannot be accomplished without the participation of the people, of which the Negro people are an inseparable and significant part.

The CP will lead in saving the Nation from those who have for centuries used monstrous attacks upon black Americans as a means of diluting the content of our democracy and defeating its logical national growth and development by the people until it reflected the interest of all.

Continuing, [ ] stated that our Party will make the decisive contributions to the fight for peace, in which Negroes will play a significant role.

Our Party will bring to white Americans a greater understanding of the shame and dehumanizing effects of racism.

To the Negro, the Party is a beam guiding the way to a harbor where equality and opportunity are guaranteed by the suppression of all opportunities for man to oppress his fellow man.

[ ] next outlined why we must build the Party and stated that the Negro movement does not have an anti-imperialist or class orientation. Only the CP can give it this. There is no other major philosophical current within this movement; therefore, there must be a multiplying of those forces which have a class orientation in order to give direction, meaning and purpose to the movement.

The Party ranks have been badly depleted by the vicious attacks of imperialist forces. It has suffered losses through death, and many of its key cadre have aged to the point where they can no longer function as in the past.

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The Negro movement has been harmed by the declining role of the Party. The nationalists of this movement failed to function when prodded by the Party.

Continuing, [ ] outlined how to build the Party and stated that no other organization has a program for achieving complete freedom for the Negro people. We believe that the Negro people will want to join the Party if they are made to understand this simple fact.

[ ] stated that the Negro movement as it exists today does not have a program for the ultimate solution of the Negro problem. The CP not only has answers for the solution of this problem but offers a basic solution to the problems of youth, the trade unions and all other segments of our society. The CP recognizes the economic basis for Negro exploitation and discrimination.

There are many liberals and progressives who will fight for Negro rights and will struggle around specific issues but they have no real understanding of the problem and hence cannot achieve real and lasting solutions.

[ ] added that it must be pointed out that in no country where the CP is in power is there any discrimination against anyone.

Over the years the Party has demonstrated its ability to give impetus, direction and content to the Negro movement. It was the CP which fought for the consciousness within the Negro movement of the relationship between the fight for Negro freedom and the fight for peace. It is the CP which has prodded and pushed labor into playing an active role in the fight for Negro freedom. It was the CP which made the world conscious of the Negro problem in America.

The CP member who seeks to recruit from within the Negro movement must, of necessity, be an integral part of this movement. He must be actively working in one or

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more of the key organizations which are in daily contact with the problems of the Negro people. He must work in such a way as to win the respect and admiration of those with whom he deals; even those who disagree with his position. A communist must be the best worker for the program of the organization of which he is a part. He must work in such a way as to develop organizational and social ties. From these can be built political ties and relationships. It does not require any unusual or special talent to single out from the ranks of any given organization those individuals who seem to take positions which are in advance of the general trends and through the introduction of carefully selected literature influence or accelerate growth in Marxist understanding.

Continuing, [ ] stated that there is a wealth of Marxist orientated material on Negro history available.

[ ] added that the next logical step is organizational; through careful follow-ups, the individual who has been nurtured through timely discussion and significant literature is invited to a forum, a social gathering or a meeting of some type where a Marxist point of view is being projected. When understanding and acceptance of the Marxist approach is indicated the task of recruiting is simple.

Party organization must be mindful of the necessity and/or careful planning of programs for new recruits. The recruit who comes in contact with a disorganized, undisciplined, poorly functioning Party club, soon becomes disillusioned and discouraged.

[ ] stated that white comrades working in Negro organizations, in white organizations and in integrated organizations must concentrate on recruiting white forces into the Party, thus guaranteeing advanced and enlightened cadre who would be in support of the Negro movement. He pointed out that this does not negate the possibilities of white comrades recruiting Negro workers.

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In concluding, [ ] stated that in order to guarantee immediate and rapid expansion of the Party's influence within the Negro movement the committee recommended the adoption of a quota of new members to be recruited by the end of December, 1962, and also that systematic well planned membership drives be instituted to guarantee future continuous expansion.

Immediately after the rendition of the report of the special committee there was a series of criticisms of it raised by various people. The following comments were noted during this period:

William A. Patterson

Patterson stated that he felt that a document of this type has to explain the meaning of the struggle against white chauvinism. He felt that the document did not sound like a document directed at the Party for building the Party but rather sounded like a document directed to the Negro people. He felt further that the document failed to deal with Negro cadre.

Patterson also advanced the theory that we must emphasize the role of labor and the menace of anti-communism.

[ ]  
[ ] stated that he felt that the document failed to explain or to list any approach toward the recruiting of any Negro youth and that it needs to set forth an approach to a standardized educational program within the Party.

[ ]  
[ ] stated that he took exception to the term "Negro problem."

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] said that she felt that we needed to be more self-critical about our loss of cadre and that we needed to give more emphasis to the question of Negro women.

Ben Davis

Ben Davis added a few comments at that time. His first point was on the economic question and he stated that he felt the report failed to give sufficient consideration to the economic roots of the problem and that he felt that the central problem was not that of a lack of a line. The problem was the question of what do we do with the lines that we have?

Davis said that he felt that the document dealing with building the Party had many positive points but felt, however, that it was a bit too negative and needed re-casting.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that the Negro movement is objectively an anti-imperialist movement and that whether subjectively or not they are aware of this it nevertheless remains and the manner in which it is placed in the document leaves questions for some doubt.

Jack Stachel

Stachel said that he felt that the document should be discussed and then sent to the Board for approval.

Claude Lightfoot

Claude Lightfoot immediately took violent exception to this approach and stated that he was tired of spending countless hours in preparation of a document which had to be "blueprinted" by a bunch of people who

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had nothing to do with it in the first place. Lightfoot then proposed that an editing committee consisting of himself, [redacted] and [redacted] be authorized to revise this document and make it an integral part of his original report and that it then be submitted to a three-man committee in the National Center (of the CP) consisting of Ben Davis, William Patterson, and Jim Jackson who would have the final say and responsibility for guaranteeing the immediate publication of the document.

The gathering supported Lightfoot's position and the motion which he had made was passed.

Near the end of the discussion at this meeting Ted Bassett came into the room and sat quietly listening to the deliberations. After having listened to the discussion at this meeting, Bassett suddenly exclaimed, "How in thunder-ation could such a meeting as took place last Friday (June 22, 1962, at which time the first meeting of this enlarged meeting of the CP, USA National Negro Commission was held) be held without my being notified?" Bassett appeared to be very angry.

Claude Lightfoot tried to quiet him down, stating that he felt that it was only through an oversight on someone's part that Bassett was not made aware of the Friday meeting. Lightfoot added that he was certain that William Patterson thought that Bassett knew about the meeting. Lightfoot added that he felt it was very important to have Bassett at these meetings in order to discuss the coming NAACP National Convention (scheduled for the first week of July, 1962 at Atlanta, Georgia).

Bassett said that he also thought it was important that that matter be discussed and stated that he had considered the coming convention and wanted to propose that a committee be set up consisting of [redacted] and himself, Ted Bassett, with [redacted] being given the responsibility for the activity of this committee.

It is to be noted that apparently for security reasons Bassett had written the name NAACP and the names of the individuals to serve on the proposed committee on the blackboard located in the Board room where the meeting was being held.

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Bassett also said that he felt it was necessary to have a discussion on our (CP) policy and program for the NAACP National Convention.

Lightfoot replied that he felt that point had been discussed at the earlier meeting and therefore did not think it was necessary to discuss it at this point.

Ben Davis said he thought that there should be a discussion on that point but felt that this meeting should be adjourned and that the discussion be held at a later meeting.

There was some discussion on when this point should be taken up, however, someone made a motion that the proposal by Ted Bassett be accepted and that motion was approved.

It was also proposed and accepted that all persons present, upon returning to their respective districts, instruct their people who were to attend the NAACP National Convention that they should look for Lester Davis at the NAACP National Convention and function under the instructions of Davis and the previously named committee.

Some of those present were then observed giving names of persons, who they anticipated would attend the NAACP Convention, to Davis. Among those noted turning names over to Davis at this time were William Patterson and Ben Davis.

Following the approval of the setting up of the committee to work in connection with the NAACP National Convention, this meeting was concluded.

F B I

Date: 7-13-62

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA -  
ORGANIZATION  
IS - C  
(OO: New York)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum captioned "COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - ORGANIZATION, IS - C" relating to a three day conference of National CP leaders who met under the name of the Gus Hall - Ben Davis Defense Committee and two enlarged meetings of the CP, USA National Negro Commission, which were held in New York in conjunction with the three day conference of National CP leaders. All of these meetings were held during the period 6/22-25/62 in New York City. Additional copies are being submitted to those offices receiving copies of this communication.

The information incorporated in the enclosed memorandum was furnished by [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA ROBERT E. ROWE on 6/27-30/62 and was dictated to Stenographers [redacted]

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and [redacted] on 7/2,3,5/62. [redacted] was not available to authenticate this report until 7/10/62 at which time the attached report was authenticated. B [redacted] The signed original narrative report of this information will be located in [redacted]

SHIPPED ON 4/24/75

It is to be noted that in connection with the omission of the comments from the floor of the meeting on Saturday afternoon, 6/23/62, as noted in this report, [redacted] was called out of the meeting during that time.

100-33741-1955  
416 JUL 17 1962  
Waters

REB:pat  
(111)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

CG 100-33741

Careful consideration has been given and the source concealed only where absolutely necessary.

The New York Office has advised that there is no Bureau approved subversive organization characterization available on the Gus Hall - Ben Davis Committee.

By separate communications offices having individuals in attendance at this CP meeting who were unknown to [redacted] are being requested to furnish photographs of those individuals to the Chicago Office for exhibition to [redacted] so that he may properly identify them as being in attendance at this CP meeting.

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The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified confidential inasmuch as it contains data which could reasonably result in the identification of the above confidential source who is of continuing value and compromise his future effectiveness, which would adversely affect the national defense interest of the United States. In addition, this letterhead memorandum has been set forth as having been made at Washington, D. C., in order to further protect the informant.

[redacted]

See page 3 and subsequent pages for copies.

Copies

- 5 - Bureau (Encl 8) (RM)
  - 1 - 100-3-95 (CP, USA - ATTACKS AGAINST THE FBI)
  - 1 - 100-372958 (U.S. vs CP, USA)
- 1 - Atlanta (Encl 1) (Info) (RM)
  - 1 - 100- (COMINFIL - NAACP)
- 3 - Baltimore (Encl 3) (RM)
  - 1 - 100-10584 [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100-12076 (GEORGE MEYERS)
  - 1 - 100-12464 (CP, USA, MARYLAND DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 2 - Boston (Encl 2) (RM)
  - 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100-20779 (CP, USA, NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - Buffalo (Encl 1) (Info) (RM)
  - 1 - 100-4379-69 (CP, USA, NEW YORK DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - Cincinnati (Encl 1) (Info) (RM)
  - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, OHIO DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 2 - Cleveland (Encl 2) (RM)
  - 1 - 65-721 (ANTON KRCHMAREK)
  - 1 - 100-17257 (CP, USA, OHIO DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 8 - Detroit (Encl 8) (RM)
  - 1 - 100-8482 (TOMMY DENNIS)
  - 1 - 100-13420 (CARL WINTER)
  - 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, MICHIGAN DISTRICT - YOUTH MATTERS)
  - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, MICHIGAN DISTRICT - NEGRO QUESTION)
  - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, MICHIGAN DISTRICT - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
  - 1 - 100-2050 (CP, USA, MICHIGAN DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 6 - Los Angeles (Encl 6) (RM)
  - 1 - 100-52571 [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100-30439 [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALY)
  - 1 - 100-4663 (BEN DOBBS)
  - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
  - 1 - 100-26044 (CP, USA, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 2 - Milwaukee (Encl 2) (RM)
  - 1 - 100- (FRED BLAIR)
  - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, WISCONSIN DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)

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- 1 - Minneapolis (Encl 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA, MINNESOTA - DAKOTAS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - Newark (Encl 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - 100-4284 (CP, USA, NEW JERSEY DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 47 - New York (Encl 45) (RM)
- 1 - 100-1675 (JIM JACKSON)
- 1 - 100-27452 (BOB THOMPSON)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-79025 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-128255 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-84275 (WILLIAM PATTERSON)
- 1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)
- 1 - 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT)
- 1 - 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)
- 1 - 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-15946 (JAMES TORMEY)
- 1 - 100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)
- 1 - 100-54965 (JOHN ABT)
- 1 - 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)
- 1 - 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-56579 (PHIL BART)
- 1 - 100-32826 (JAMES ALLEN)
- 1 - 101-559 (JESUS COLON)
- 1 - 100-2601 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)
- 1 - 100-21421 (ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - ATTACKS AGAINST THE FBI)
- 1 - 100-89691 (CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
- 1 - 100-80633 (CP, USA - EDUCATION)
- 1 - 100-74560 (CP, USA - FUNDS)
- 1 - 100-86624 (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- 1 - 100-80640 (CP, USA - NEGRO QUESTION)
- 1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - 100-81675 (CP, USA - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
- 1 - 100-89590 (CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- 1 - 100-80644 (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- (TED BASSETT)

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- 47 - New York (Encl 45) (RM) (continued)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100- [REDACTED] (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
  - 1 - 100-102302 (U.S. vs CP, USA)
  - 1 - 100-128814 (CP, USA, NEW YORK STATE DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
  - 1 - 100- (PYOC)
  - 1 - 100- ("THE WORKER")
  - 1 - 100- (GUS HALL - BEN DAVIS DEFENSE COMMITTEE)
  - 1 - 100- ("FREEDOMWAYS")
- 5 - Philadelphia (Encl 5) (RM)
- 1 - 100-22603 [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 65-1686 (THOMAS NABRIED)
  - 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100-31723 (CP, USA, EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
  - 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 2 - Pittsburgh (Encl 2) (RM)
- 1 - 100-14195 [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - Portland (Encl 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA, OREGON DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - St. Louis (Encl 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - 100-7781 (CP, USA, MISSOURI DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 6 - San Francisco (Encl 6) (RM)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 65-1242 (MICKEY LINA)
  - 1 - 61-398 [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT - STRATEGY IN IND.)
  - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT - POLITICAL ACTION)
  - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 5 - Seattle (Encl 5) (RM)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100- (BERT NELSON)
  - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, WASHINGTON DISTRICT - POLITICAL ACTIONS)
  - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, WASHINGTON DISTRICT - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
  - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, WASHINGTON DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 11 - Chicago
- [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100-21073 [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100-24800 (LOU DISKIN)
  - 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
  - 1 - 100-3313 (JACK KLING)
  - 1 - 100-18956 (CP, USA, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - NEGRO QUESTION)
  - 1 - 100-18953 (CP, USA, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
  - 1 - 100- (NATION OF ISLAM)

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FOIPA  
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